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ON

THE EVILS OF "DISUNITY IN CENTRAL AND
LOCAL ADMINISTRATION"

ESPECIALLY WITH RELATION TO THE METROPOLIS

AND ALSO ON THE

NEW CENTRALISATION FOR THE PEOPLE

TOGETHER WITH IMPROVEMENTS IN CODIFICATION

AND IN LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE

BY

EDWIN CHADWICK, C.B.

LATE COMMISSIONER OF POOR LAW ENQUIRY, OF FACTORIES ENQUIRY, OF METROPOLITAN
SANITARY ENQUIRY, AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER OF THE FIRST
GENERAL BOARD OF HEALTH; CORRESPONDING MEMBER
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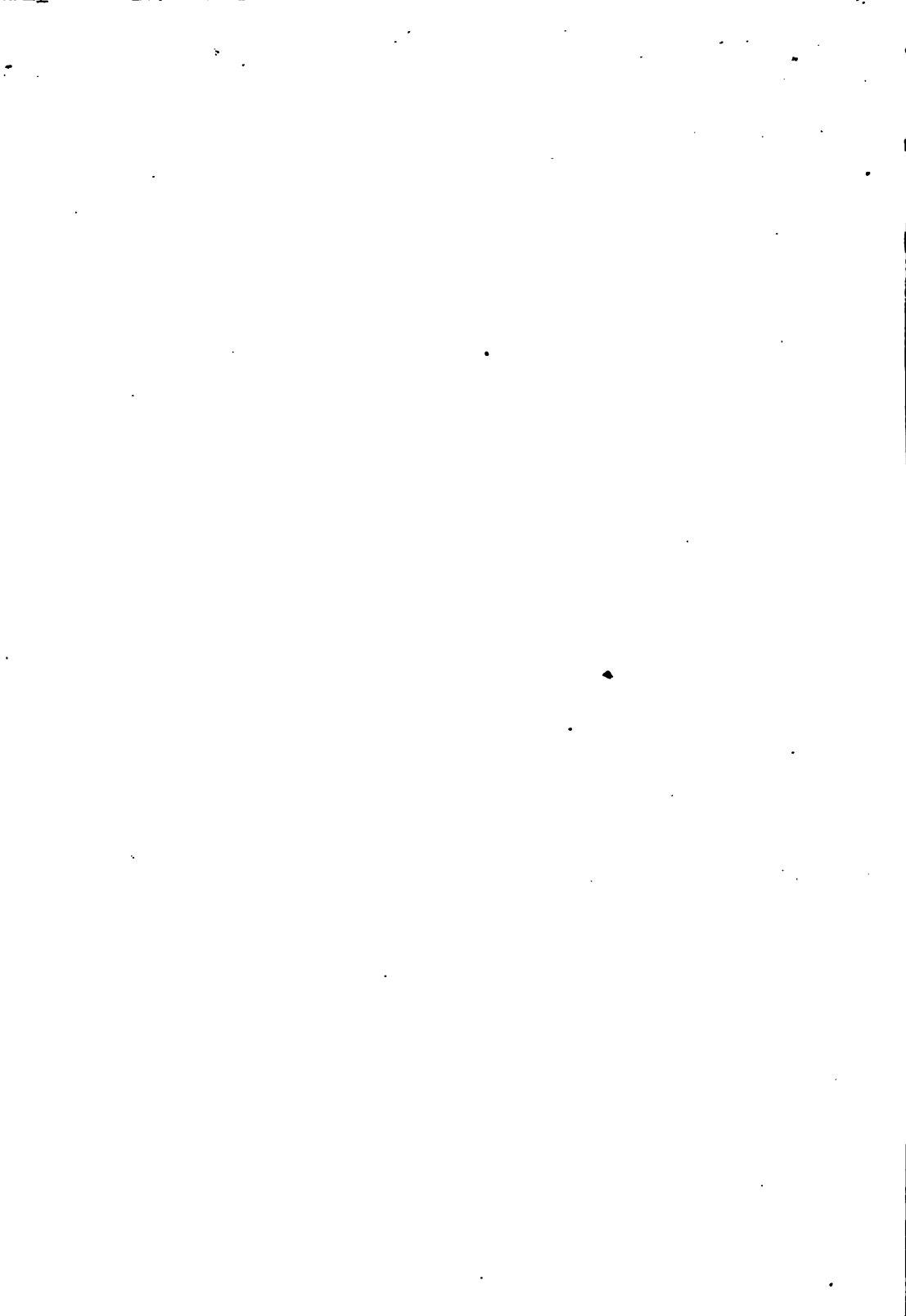
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PREFATORY.

THE outlook of legislation by Parliament, as tending to constitutional disintegration appears to render it incumbent on me to submit principles of amendment, conducive to unity and economy, founded on official experiences and observations during half a century.

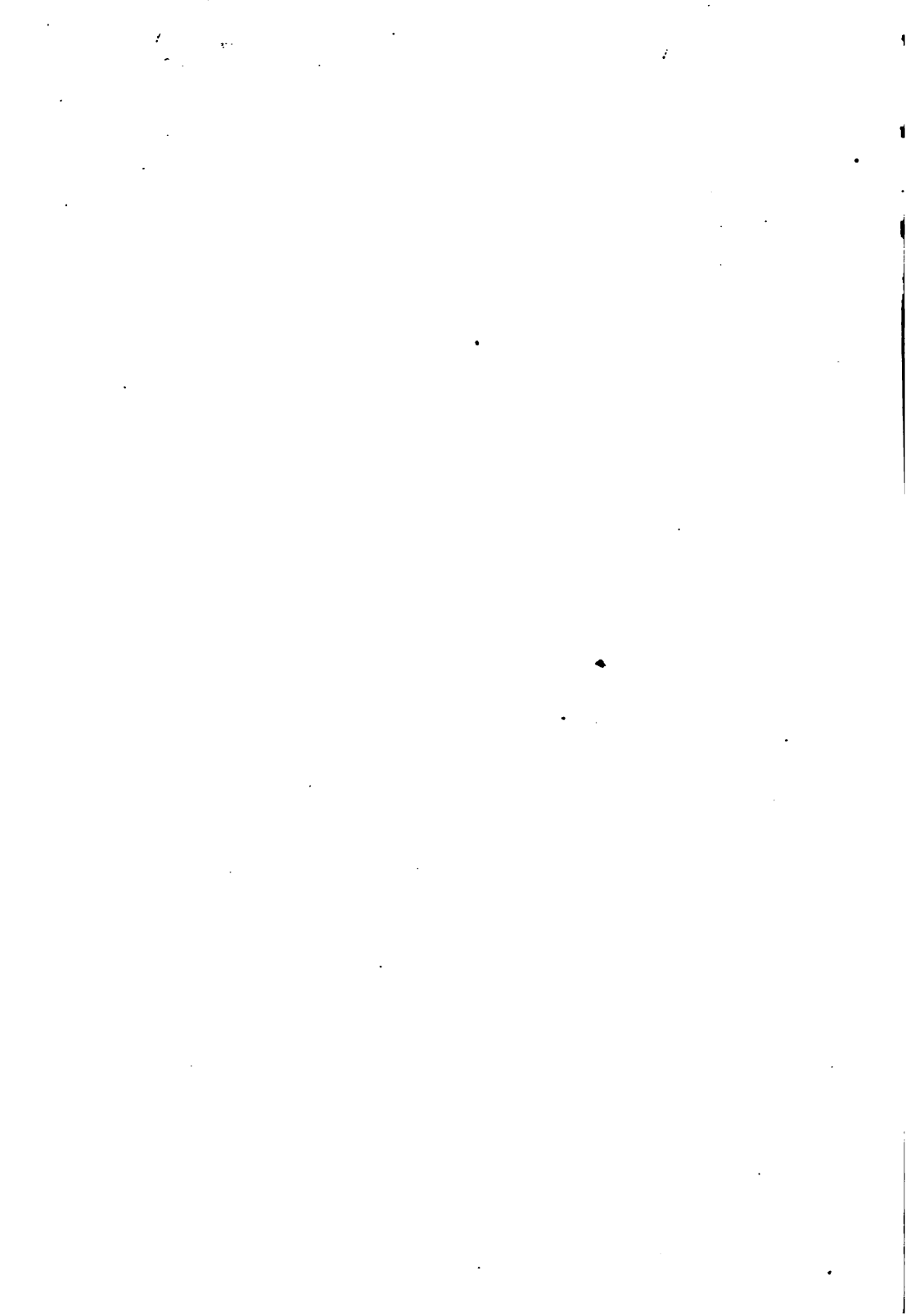
I had prepared the following papers with that object, and was waiting an opportunity to submit them when the movement arose, with general public support, for a closer union with our widely expanding Colonies. To that great object, the existing conditions of home legislative disunity, and as it appears to me of disintegration, must present serious obstructions, and I would invite the attention of the promoters of federal union to the principle of legislation, and of administration for which I contend as eminently conducive to it, and indeed as necessary to its attainment, as well as to the more immediate improvement of home legislation and home administration.

I hope that the statement of the home experiences of the evils of local disunity may be of service for their avoidance by Colonial statesmen.

The papers were written on separate occasions and contain repetitions, but those repetitions are with variations, and those variations are submitted for additional consideration.

EDWIN CHADWICK.

EAST SURREY, *February*, 1885.



*One Policy, One Government, One Country, the Remedy for
a Three-Chambered Legislature, and National and
Provincial Unity of Legislation and Administration.*

WE have been going on, even with ordinary affairs, under the condition of what is practically a three-chambered Legislature: an English Chamber, an Irish Chamber, and a Scotch Chamber—a condition which has grown up since the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the affairs to be administered were under unity, for a population little more than that of Scotland, or more than that of the present metropolis. Each of these Chambers represents a local legislation and administration, which has been allowed to go on, more or less distinct in form, with apparently distinct and incongruous interests, now requiring distinct appropriation of the time and attention by the Legislature for meeting the ever-growing needs of the affairs of each separate population. Whilst the affairs belonging to one chamber are proceeded with, it is, at the expense of time, and commonly must be, therefore, to the injury of the two others. We have had experience that by the exigencies of the factious requirements of one, the affairs of two others, representing a population numerically seven times greater, have been delayed and seriously injured. It may be urged for consideration that with the growth of the affairs of the United Kingdom and of the empire, the pressures and the injuries of delay of legislation and of business must increase, until an irresistible case is made out for what is called disintegration, by separate home rules, which indeed is now proposed for Local Boards, with increased powers of local taxation, as a relief to Parliament.

Increasing
evils of three-
chambered
legislation.

Organic Principle of Unity by Codification.

I venture, after my experience, now of nearly half a century, in relation to long-tried organisations for local administration, to submit as a remedy the application of a master principle for obtaining unity in legislation.

The master principle of legislative and judicial organisation

laid down by Bentham, is *always to do the same thing in the same way, choosing the best, and always to call the same thing by the same name.**

Example of Unity in Penal Procedure.

**Basis of
remedy in the
principle of
unity of codi-
fication.**

I would submit, for examination and consideration, some illustrations derived from my own experience to show how far the application of the fundamental principle stated would serve to the attainment of unity of legislation, and the restoration of a single-chambered Legislature.

**Example of
advantages of
unity in penal
procedure
from Scotland.**

Under the commission of inquiry for the better organisation of constabulary forces, I learned from the chief English police officers serving in Scotland who had also served in England; that what is done in Scotland under the general direction of the public prosecutor by precognition taken by the Procurator Fiscal, the examination by the Sheriff, and the trial by jury, in which unanimity is not required, and what may be called an intermediate verdict of 'not proven' is allowed, affords greater security to the innocent, with less of additional sacrifice to the injured, and more certainty of punishment, than is afforded by the penal procedure in England.

**Superiority of
codification, by
outside consul-
tations of
varied lay ex-
periences, over
codification
from the
closet.**

It is illustrative of the state of the legislation by the separate Chambers, as I call them, that the New Criminal Code (the indictable offences) Bill, prepared by Sir James Stephen, is proposed for England and Ireland only. But if it be good for England and Ireland, why is it not good for Scotland too? I have great respect for the ability and the acuteness of Sir James Stephen; but his experience and observation will have been as to the procedure within the Courts. There are, however, many experiences of officers out of Court, affecting procedure, which do not come under observation in Court. Moreover, Sir James Stephen's experiences may be taken to have related to only one system—the English system. Now I have a confident opinion that, if such experiences as those of the English officers serving in Scotland which I consulted—experiences very much

* I may observe that in my service I have never followed any one, not even Bentham, but have deduced my conclusions not even from Bentham's but solely from close and important collections of evidence. On a comparison of various penal procedures I had, however, arrived independently at a conclusion in accordance with that which he had above enunciated. On some depreciatory remarks as to Bentham's authority, it is just to state that Mr. Herbert Spencer has much to learn upon it; and that he and others may learn of it from Professor Austin's 'Province of Jurisprudence Defined,' and of his authority in codification, in the eminent practical success of the Indian Civil Code drawn upon his lines, on which the authority of Sir Henry Maine may be relied on.

of it outside that of the Scotch Courts—the penal law and procedure in Scotland would be found better, and therefore more eligible for adoption than that proposed for England and Ireland. I have no doubt that Bentham himself would have gladly acknowledged the advantages of a procedure of codification based upon the collection of evidence and the public comparison of masses of lay experiences, over any obtainable by the best meditation of the jurist on such isolated cases as he would be likely to be able to look into in his library, or by the judge reasoning on the experiences, generally confined to his Courts.

Experiences of Unity in Sanitary Administration.

I postpone the consideration of the gains derivable from the consolidated organisation and action of police forces. I pass by the question of the gains derivable, on one side or other, by the unity of civil procedure with which I am little conversant. I proceed to the topic which has hitherto engaged but little of the time and attention of the Legislature, but which may be said to be now advancing to its proper position of paramount consideration, viz., the best way of dealing with the health and strength of the population. Under the first Public Health Act the General Board of Health had jurisdiction in Scotland, and had the power of making orders with a summary jurisdiction, to be enforced by all magistrates during the prevalence of extraordinary epidemics; and we exercised that authority during the extraordinary epidemic of cholera. In deference to the assumed feeling in Scotland of jealousy of a central English authority, it was first proposed to centralise our administrative arrangements for Scotland in its capital, Edinburgh, but we soon found that this arrangement excited dissatisfaction at Glasgow, Aberdeen, and other places, where it was treated as an indignity that they should be left subjected to a minor or secondary authority, and it was insisted that they should be allowed to communicate direct with the superior central authority in England. The considerations of practical experience and the economy of time and force by direct action induced us at once to act upon this feeling. Local office-bearers, who are averse to any change, and local office expectants, are naturally led to assume that the feeling of the population is in favour of the provincial law which they administer. I had an opportunity of testing the feeling of a body of the wage class in Scotland on the question, when I

Example of advantages of greater collectivity for sanitary science under unity.

Unity most popular.

put it to them whether they would prefer being brought up and educated as the subjects of a province, and restricted to the knowledge of the laws of their province—*i.e.*, of an eighth of the United Kingdom—or whether they would prefer to be the subjects of a great United Kingdom, educated in its laws, and subjected, not alien, to the laws of a great empire wheresoever they were led to settle in it, or were led to have dealings with it. The answer was—what it may be confidently averred that it will be everywhere when fairly put—that they would be for the principle of unity,* *i.e.*, being taught how to do the same thing in the same way for everyone, choosing the best, and calling the same thing by the same name; of which, as to the nomenclature, it will be seen to be of the like importance for the advancement of the science of law and of administration, as my friend Sir Richard Owen says Linnæus made it for the science of botany. Those Scotch Thanes who are contending for a separate department of legislature, and a separate Minister for Scotland, are, if they knew it, contending for the continuance of the social and political evils of disunity, and the maintenance of barbarous, racial feelings;—for the degradation of a Scotchman to a mere tribesman, and the confinement of his view to only one-eighth part of the kingdom, instead of his elevation under entire unity to the free citizenship of the United Kingdom, and his qualification and freedom for the great labour market of the empire. Their present success it may be anticipated would add to and hasten the experiences of the necessity of unity. The union of Scotland, under the same jurisdiction as England for the extraordinary occasion of the visitation of the cholera epidemic brought out an exemplification of that which I propose as a principle of administrative organisation—that the wider the area of the administrative jurisdiction, the wider is its means or collective experience for the safe guidance of the local, as well as of the central, authority. In the measure which I proposed I charged the General Board with the service, *inter alia*, of ‘collecting and communicating to each local authority for its guidance,’ or the guidance of its officers, the principles deduced

* Lion King-at-Arms shows that heraldically England is an annexation to Scotland, an idea which is not disliked for amusement; and real annexation by legislation would be popular. On the other hand, I have found that in Wales it is considered that since the Tudor period the entire sovereignty of the country has been Welsh, only those stupid English, they say, do not know or properly regard it; and those Scotch should be made aware of the affirmative fact that the heir of the sovereignty is the Prince of Wales, ‘not the Prince of Scotland.’ Ireland would have the greatest annexations, which should content her. The annexations of England under unity would be popular whilst England would be consoled by the economies of unity.

from the experience of all other places from which information may be obtained.'

A conception is apt to be entertained as respects administrative departments connected with local administration that they are already overcharged, and can yield no further service, which is true under defective organisation. My friend the late Sir Rowland Hill frequently expressed to me his concurrence in the administrative principle, that as a rule the more a well-organised department has to do, the better it will do every branch of it. He exemplified this by the manifold new services in the postal department, which, if he had not been obstructed, he would have further augmented. In connection with this topic it may be noted that in small and remote districts scattered cases occur, which are there unprecedented and anomalous; but when carried to a central department of the larger area group themselves into classes, in which classes rules for practical action may be formed. This tendency in wide administrative areas, when properly turned to account, is of peculiar importance to the progress of sanitary science; and its statistical attributions are now in the course of development in the Indian sanitary service.

Advantages of complete unity for central action.

As an illustration of the large gains derivable from unity, I may state that on the advent of that great epidemic we obtained information of past experience from one practitioner in a remote district, that the advent of the disease was in almost all cases preceded by premonitory symptoms, which were amenable to immediate treatment. This early treatment was as soon as possible adopted throughout the country to meet the epidemic; and it was so, with the result of a proved saving of some 50,000 lives as compared with the death-rates on the continent, where the treatment had not been heard of, or was neglected. If Scotland had been under a smaller separate administration, it would, in the usual course, have only heard of the treatment some time after it had been in operation in England, and only have adopted it slowly, and executed it with a slower and smaller and feebler administration, and with a delay that would have unquestionably cost some thousands of lives. Testimony has been received from St. Petersburg, that on each of the two last visitations of the epidemic, the adoption of our method of treatment was attended with the saving of upwards of 20,000 lives as compared with the death-rates during the preceding epidemics. On the other hand I might cite particular experiences occurring in Scotland, the knowledge of which, by the separation, is now lost to England. I might demonstrate the great loss of the information derivable

Example of the advantages of unity against epidemic visitations.

for the guidance of private practice and public administration, and for the progress of sanitary science; and might point to the enfeebling of the reports on the progress of disease that is occasioned by the separation of the registration of the occurrence and of the causes of death in Scotland from those of England. The object sought in this large branch of administration would be the determination of the economy of doing the same thing in the same way, by a comprehensive and large administration, instead of by a small, weak, and seemingly cheap, but really dear one, such as that of Scotland. In no branch of administration would there be greater gain than in this, from a re-examination of the whole of the administrative arrangements leading to increased efficiency. It would involve a money saving, in excessive sickness, excessive funerals, and lost labour, amounting to no less than twenty-five millions of money for the United Kingdom; and in its proportion, in Ireland and for Scotland. There has been a partial saving in England and Wales, by the reduction of death-rates from preventible disease, of a quarter of a million of lives during the last decade, which, with the attendant sickness, must have effected a saving of more than five millions of money.*

I have recently had occasion to show that, mainly by the want of unity in the executive local administration, the wage classes in Manchester are subject to an excess of preventible sickness and mortality by one-third. The Lord Provost of Glasgow declared at the recent Sanitary Congress held there, that my paper on Manchester was a 'cap' that fitted Glasgow. I know that it does, and Dublin and other cities also; and that under unity the wage classes there might receive the same benefit at the same time. But they must, in the usual course, all continue to wait, at the expense of hosts of cases of preventible sickness and of premature mortality, and of expenses exceeding those of proper works of prevention, until time and attention can be got for the legislation of the Irish Chamber, and for the Scotch Chamber to follow that of the English Chamber, each of narrow and usually uncertain information on the subject.

The parochial registration of births and marriages was, in England, in the hands of the clergy. A measure was proposed,

* Since the above was written, papers have been read at the Sanitary Congress, held at Dublin, demonstrating the gross ignorance and the wastefulness of the rural local health authorities in Ireland. Similar displays have been also made of the ignorance and incompetency of the rural health authorities in Scotland. Unity for the light of central science and inspection will be found to be necessary for the relief of the local populations.

for the relief of the Dissenters, giving the function of registration to a new set of local officers. I wrote a paper on the subject, representing the expediency of a provision for the recordation of the cause as well as of the fact of death, and that the service should be confided to the health officers of our new unions. This was carried with difficulty. I then got the late Dr. Farr appointed at the central department to report on the progress of the causes of disease. These reports have influenced the course of sanitation over Europe and the United States. But the subsequent provision for the disunity of the functions, which confines observations separately to Ireland and Scotland and England, have been detrimental to the progress of sanitary science and legislation in each country, in ways too long to narrate here, especially as to the course of epidemics, in respect to which the observation of facts cannot be too wide. The observations of the sanitary officers in India on the rise and progress of cholera have had a very beneficial effect on sanitary science on that subject in Europe.

Evils of dis-unity of death registration.

Advantages of Unity in the Administration of Relief to the Destitute.

The next example of the gain derivable from doing the same thing in the same way, and choosing the best, I take from the method of relieving the destitute in Ireland. The measure for the introduction of the new Poor Law into Ireland was devised by English administrators. It was, indeed, the same in principle as that which I proposed under the Poor Law Commission for England in 1833; and was administered, in the first instance, from our Board in London. From the commencement of the question of the introduction of a system of Poor Law administration in Ireland, I advocated, and for a time I stood alone, for a compulsory provision of relief for able-bodied labourers there, the same as that maintained for able-bodied labourers in England, and I did so from observation of the working of the principle in the case which frequently occurred of the relief of Irish labourers in England—an experience which could not then have been readily got from Ireland. In England we had to contend with local habits of maladministration three centuries old, which have been reduced, but are yet far from completely eradicated. In Ireland we had comparatively a clear field for the new law.* The measure was

Example of the advantages of unity for the administration of the relief of destitution.

* The *Quarterly Review* for April, 1884, says of the Irish Poor Law:—‘That Act has now stood the trial of nearly half a century, and though its assailants

received with distrust and opposition by Irish members, and on the application of the measure for the suppression of the great evil of the country—mendicancy—it met with positive and successful opposition from O'Connell and his party. In Ireland the whole law was met with such direct hostility that we had to levy poor-rates at first, in several counties by strong bodies of police, in a number of instances by bodies of infantry and cavalry, and in one case by a display of artillery. The beneficent principle of the measure was only generally recognised after some time.

Example of the economy of unity in the administration of relief in Ireland and Scotland with England.

I take the comparative returns for England, Ireland, and Scotland for 1872 as a convenient exponent of the results of the respective systems of administration :

	Rate per head on the Population	Percentage of Paupers to Population
	<i>s.</i> <i>d.</i>	
*England	6 11½	4·9
Scotland	5 4	3·9
Ireland	2 9	1·2

This may be taken as presenting an example of the working in Ireland of the principle we laid down in 1833, that indoor relief should be the rule, and not, as in England and Scotland, the exception; and yet, stated correctly, indoor relief is not the absolute rule, as it is frequently assumed to be. In our report we recognised the possibility of the occurrence of destitution to such masses as to be beyond any means of ordinary workhouse accommodation; and for such extraordinary conditions we recommended provisions for the relief of the able-

never ceased the clamour, which for a time impeded its introduction, and later imperilled its success, each decade has added to its stability and every onslaught has but served to show its strength. It is not too much to say that the effect of this law has been weakened only by relaxation of it.*

* At the time the administration was taken over from the unpaid parish officers and confided to some 17,000 paid officers, there was much expenditure in labour rates, and in other ways not taken into account, and the real expenditure for the relief of the poor was upwards of 10s. per head of the population. Had the rates continued, instead of eight millions, the present expenditure would have been upwards of twelve millions. Agricultural wages would have been lower, and the rents of land would have been lower than they are now. The aggregate of the money saved since the change must have been upwards of eighty millions.

bodied by productive labour, of which enough, with proper diligence, might almost always be found.

The cotton famine in Lancashire was a calamity under which the local Union authorities all broke down; and it was necessary to obtain the aid of the central authority, by which relief by labour in town drainage and other remunerative work was provided for 40,000 people, although only accepted by 7,000—the rest, when put to it, finding resources elsewhere.

The representatives at the Conferences of the Poor Law Guardians, and also many Chambers of Agriculture in England and Wales, have petitioned Parliament for a return or an advance, to the principles of administration as laid down in 1833. This might be put as a proposal for doing the same thing in the same way in England and Scotland as it is done in Ireland, which would be an immense improvement on the administration as it is now carried on under the reactionary influences of rate-expenders. From instances, indeed, of the correct administration in parts of England I entertain the belief that by doing the same thing in the same way throughout all England, choosing the best, which would bring it up to that of Ireland, the administration might be improved in many ways, which I have set forth elsewhere; so that in one year the outlay might be reduced at least from eight millions to seven, and in two years of clear operation to six millions, in England, and with a great reduction for Scotland. Owing to relapses of principle and obstructions, which I need not here explain, the administration of relief in Ireland was separated from that in England. In that separation I did not then, and do not now, concur. Under an advanced system, I believe it would be found on examination to be practicable and advantageous to Ireland to restore its poor-law administration to central supervision in London—advantageous, amongst other things, as removing it to a distance from the undue pressure of local passions and interests.

It need not be urged that an examination by a competent commission of the working of different methods, though conflicting with the routine of officers, such examination being attended with a comparison of the results, could not fail to be highly instructive to the public and to the Legislature; and it might in some instances lead to the adoption of neither the one method nor the other, but of some different one, as an improvement upon both.

Petitions of guardians in England for a complete return to the principles laid down in 1833 best applied in Ireland.

Need of the periodic examination of the working of the machinery of administration.

Internal Communication Administration. Unity of Roads.

Economy from
unity for
science in the
construction
and working of
roads as in
Ireland.

The next branch of improvement that may be submitted for examination would be the administration of the formation and the maintenance of roads.

I have had occasion to pay attention to this branch of administration in England. On evidence, submitted by me and others to a Committee of the House of Commons, a measure was passed for the general transfer of the administration of roads from the parishes to the highway district. But this was a very minor advance in improvement. I have stated at length the chief evidences of the great gains derivable from unity in this branch of administration in a paper on 'County Government in combination with Union Organisation.' I will only state here, as a leading principle, that as it is with a chain, so it is with a road: its strength is tested by its weakest part. Every division of a road under a separate management causes an augmentation of the expense of transit, through different and inferior treatments. In the counties of Ireland at least, and practically throughout the whole of Ireland, there is only one uniform road, right up to every farm gate, maintained under the superintendence of a scientific engineer for each County Board, with qualifications tested and approved by the engineer of the Board of Works, with the result of a reduction of the cost of maintenance by one-third for a superior road to that in England. It has been found, by a saving of not more than one horse out of five by better roads, that a saving of some eight millions per annum would be effected, for the agricultural and urban districts, or, on the whole, including the poor's rates, some eleven millions and a half annually for England and Wales. Some members of the Irish Chamber, as I may call it, have endeavoured to make members of the English Chamber aware of the advantages of unity in road administration in Ireland: but, hitherto, they have found it impracticable to get the various local authorities out of the ruts of the deplorable chaos of administrations in England, notwithstanding the concomitant excessive expenses or to divert them from their efforts merely to shift expenses instead of reducing them by improved administration. I am not conversant with the road administration in Scotland; but I believe it is in many districts in advance of that in England; nevertheless, I believe that Scotland would participate in the advantage derivable from unity on the footing of the road administration of Ireland.

Economy of the Unity of the Police Service.

As a commissioner of inquiry into the organisation of a police force for England, I should be prepared to submit (with the support of the testimony of officers of large separate municipal powers whom I have consulted) that important advantages in economy and efficiency would be derived from the principle of the unity of the police force in Ireland, if it were adopted for the rest of the United Kingdom—that is to say, with some modifications which might reflect benefit to Ireland. Regarded as a military force, the Irish constabulary, in its organisation and action, will be found to be an economical force—results considered as a military force—two regiments of police force being worth three of the line for extraordinary military purposes; or it may be shown that two of police force, constantly rendering important remunerative civil services, are to be preferred on all accounts to three of barracked military force, rendering none. But in various respects the Irish force might receive a return from England of important improvements, such as might be learnt from the Metropolitan police force, *e.g.*, the adoption from it of beneficent functions; similar improvements might be borrowed from the urban provincial forces, as those of Liverpool, Manchester, and Leeds. As was laid down in the Report of our Commission of 1849, every police station, for example, should be a station for the implements requisite against calamities of fire and flood, as well as for relief against ordinary accidents, with a force of men trained in applying them. In those cities (and also in Glasgow) the streets are hydranted and every policeman on patrol has keys of the hydrants; on the occurrence of a fire, he brings a jet to bear from a hose in two or three or four minutes, with speedy supplemental aid and a life preserver from the nearest police station, within perhaps five minutes or in a third of the time that, as a rule, the Brigade engines and forces are brought to bear from their distant stations, which is about fifteen minutes. In those cities the large engines, like the Brigade engines, are only needed in some three or four per cent. of cases; and in these cities the losses of life and the losses of property from fire are just one-third what they are under the Municipality and the Board of Works in the metropolis. The main conclusions on this topic were adopted by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, but no action has yet been taken upon them. By the electric tele-

Advantages in economy and efficiency from the unity of police forces.

Services from police force under unity for protection against fires.

graph (and, I may add, the telephone), which has arisen since our first report, the efficiency of the action of a police force connecting every station and sub-station, and it may be every street on every beat, can be largely augmented; as the telegraph can give early notice, not only of fires, but crimes, with a power of directing attention and pursuit by an organised force from one end of the empire to the other.

Combination of the Police Service with the Service for the Prevention of Mendicity and Vagrancy.

The increasing evil of vagrancy only exists through defective organisation. At Coventry the tricycle has recently been successfully introduced as a means of silent patrol and quick pursuit. As an instance of defective organisation, there appears to have been at the time of the murder of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke no horse patrol in Phoenix Park, and the assassins escaped in their car without pursuit. The police along the line of road could have been placed on the alert before the car came up which conveyed the assassins to their dens! In agricultural districts, with the as yet imperfect county forces, the police have served to stop stray cattle, to close gates for the farmers, and give them a protection against horse and sheep stealing which led the farmers to fold their sheep at night within the jurisdiction of the police force on its first institution for the sake of additional security. Admiral MacHardy, the chief of the Essex force, proved, before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, that the expense of the new force was less than the total expense of the parish constables, although these were mostly unpaid. Captain Harriess, of the Hampshire police force, was ready with similar testimony as to the working of the measure. I can express a confident opinion that the expense of the popular services and the increased efficiency of a great consolidated force would, on examination, be found to be much less than the total expenses of the existing fragmentary forces.

Advantages of the use of distant police force under unity for the suppression of local disorder.

I can adduce experiences to show that when any serious disturbances have to be met, or riots with violence to be quelled, it is inexpedient to use the local forces for the purpose, if it can possibly be avoided. The local police have family connexions, or there are men in the crowd whom they often meet socially, and whom it is painful to strike down. Action by the local force on such occasions is detrimental to the popularity created by the beneficent action of the force in their ordinary service, which it is important to sustain and cultivate. Some

time ago, in Lancashire, there was serious rioting by election mobs at Wigan, and severe fighting with the police. A chief of police in the county observed to me that it was much to be regretted that arrangements had not permitted a distant force to be used for the service, which had engendered bitter feelings against the local police, which had not yet been allayed, and that such feeling was detrimental to their ordinary action.

The chief officers of provincial forces agree in the great waste of force which there now is from disunity, and as to the economies derivable from unity. In the subsequent exposition of the principles of administrative unity in provincial and urban administration I may have to display more particularly the economy derivable from the unity of the police service in the Metropolis. The greatest economy derivable from unity of the police force of the United Kingdom would, it is agreed, be in the saving of military force. By the consolidation of the English, the Irish, and the Scotch forces of 51,000 men, a contingent of two thousand men might be obtained for several days for distant service on extraordinary occasions. By a grant of half a million of money from the consolidated fund for the relief of the local ratepayers, more, it may be averred, an economy of double that amount of the expenditure from the consolidated fund for military force of three millions now expended in Ireland would be derivable from the unity of this branch of administration.

Economy of military force by a police force under unity.

I have a confident belief that it will be found, on examination, that Ireland has really the most economical and the best chief branches of local administration, aided by central service in the empire;—the best Poor Law administration, the best road administration, and, after all deductions, it has in essentials as a whole, the best police administration. If the principle of these branches be extended and made general—under unity—throughout the empire, there would be a great gain of administrative force with a large reduction of the local rates. The principles for the administration of relief to the destitute in Ireland are the principles which we proposed as more specially applicable to the institution of the central control for the administration of the Poor Law in England. It would appear to be of importance for Ireland that this central service should on serious be distant and uninfluenced by local passion, and impartial as well as strong.

Economy and efficiency of unity for national sanitary administration, in poor law administration, in penal administration, and in road administration.

When honourable members state that they do not wish to have more of centralisation of police force, they cannot be aware what this must mean; that they would not have more of

economy of force ; that they would not have rebellions repressed more quickly with less of bloodshed ; that they would not have ordinary crime pursued with less uncertainty of escape ; that they would not have vagrancy completely repressed ; that they would not have calamities more effectually prevented, which can only be done under unity with economy and more complete responsibility to the representatives of the people in the central parliament.

*Unqualified Centralisation to Irresponsible Committees ; or
Centralisation to Qualified Departments effectively re-
sponsible to Parliament.*

Movement for
decentralisa-
tion of legisla-
tion to
Parliament

There is centralisation and centralisation—the centralisation of local and private legislation in Parliament itself, without superior and responsible intervention, without centralisation to a responsible department, which, if properly constituted, has the highest science and capacity for aiding and dealing with the subject matters of local self-government. I submit some experiences on these differences of centralisation and the excessive burthens and waste occasioned by legislative disunity.

Expenses of
legislation by
local and
private Acts
of Parliament.

An important movement has recently been made tending, it is to be hoped, to the decentralisation of that portion of legislation for localities by private Bills which the head centre of Parliament, which sinister interests have led it to keep as it is to itself. Much of the evils belonging to it were recently pourtrayed by Mr. Sellar, the member for the Haddington District of Burghs, and were generally recognised in the House of Commons. Some years ago I was informed that the parliamentary legislation for Liverpool had cost that one city upwards of £120,000—more, probably, than the Code Napoléon or than the Code for the Indian Empire cost ; more than all the great commissions of legislative inquiry within the last half-century have cost.* And yet Mr. Rushton, the stipendiary magistrate for that city, told me that the local legislation evolved at that expense could not be understood by the people, and generally only by a lawyer, and by that lawyer after a great deal of trouble. The expense of such legislation would have been prohibitory of the measures required for the sanitation of the smaller towns, and would have consumed the expense of a large proportion of the works needed. Such costs as twenty or thirty

* The Poor Law Commission of Inquiry was unpaid, except as to travelling expenses, and so with the Sanitary Inquiry, and the Constabulary Force Inquiry ; nor were any thanks or honorary acknowledgments for their great results ever accorded to them.

thousand pounds have been incurred for inferior works, from which a competent body of specialists would have protected the population and have ensured them better works—such as waterworks—at a far less charge. In some cases, cities have been charged with such costs, and have failed to obtain the relief they have sought.

Mr. Sellar recently stated, in illustration of this system of Parliamentary centralisation :

Expenses of
centralisation
to Parliament.

‘Last session ten railway schemes were thrown out in Committee. The expense of the Parliamentary inquiry in the case of those ten rejected schemes was calculated to exceed £200,000. The cost of the Barrow Dock scheme was stated to have been at the rate of five guineas a minute for the whole time (forty-three days) in which it was in Committee. When he mentioned these facts, and told them that it had been sworn in evidence that the whole Prussian railway system was one of the most perfect in the world, and cost less money to complete than was spent in the Parliamentary expenses of the English railways up to 1867 before a sod was cut, it would be enough to convince them that the present system could not be a good one. Some years ago the burgh of Dunbar was nearly ruined by having to defend itself against the county before a Private Bill Committee. It cost them, he thought, 77 per cent. of their income. Last session he sat upon a Committee which conducted inquiries regarding waterworks at Dumbarton, waterworks at Hawarden, in Cheshire, waterworks at Windsor, and a graving dock at King’s Lynn—all of them small places. The Committee was conducted as quickly and expeditiously as possible, but the expense to those small towns and districts must have been of a most serious character. His humble effort, he was bound to say, though coming to no practical result, was not discouraging.’

For an abortive Water Bill for Wakefield, a loss of £75,000 was incurred. As an illustration of the emoluments derived from this species of legislation, I may mention that the late Mr. Charles Austin, of the Parliamentary bar, whom I knew, received in 1844–45 1,000 guineas on each brief, and his income for that year was £63,000. Another illustration may be taken from the diary of the late Mr. Newburn, railway solicitor, published in 1876. The writer says:—‘The London and North Western Railway Company had in the Session of 1860, twenty-five bills in Parliament, all which they gave to Mr. Hope Scott, as their leader, and he was paid fees amounting to £20,000, although he was rarely in the committee room during the progress of the Bills.’ The result of a long experience was

that Mr. Hope Scott entertained an 'ingrained contempt' for the tribunals before whom he had to display his forensic talents and through whom he obtained such vast profits.

Examples of the effects of expenses of centralisation to Parliament in extending reliefs needed for local evils.

Mr. Wheeler, the engineer, of Lincolnshire, whom I have cited for his description of the evils of disunity in the local self-government there for protection against floods, describes in the following terms the mischievous effects of the Parliamentary legislation on local Acts: 'The enormous cost of obtaining Acts of Parliament for the improvement of only portions of a river stand forth as a bar to improvement except in the most extreme cases. These costs must in the preliminary stage be guaranteed by the landowners, in case of failure to obtain an Act giving the necessary power of taxation, a risk not lightly to be incurred, considering the immense number of interests on every river, and the spirit of opposition on the part of any body of Commissioners when there is the chance of privileges being interfered with. It has been stated that the contests over the jurisdiction of the lower section of one of the second-class rivers on which improvements have recently been carried out, have cost £100,000 during the last fifty years; and that the cost of obtaining Parliamentary powers for the improvement of the outfall of another river, draining a large section of the Midland district, has amounted to £150,000 during a like period. On the Don it cost £7,000 to obtain an Act to improve only twelve miles of the river, £3,000 being spent by the opposition, or about one-third of the total cost of the works. An unopposed Act costs nearly £1,000, and the smallest opposition, if carried on only in one House, trebles or quadruples this amount.'

Origin of the relief obtained from the expenses of the Court of Chancery for the drainage of settled estates.

In respect to the primary work of sanitation for the relief by drainage of land supersaturated with moisture, often with marsh surfaces, engendering rheumatism, ague, and the marsh diseases, as well as occasioning inferior production, I early wrote papers for Sir Robert Peel's Government, representing that relief by the drainage of settled estates could only be obtained by application to the central authority—the Court of Chancery—for permission, only obtainable at an expense which would suffice for the purchase of the tiles that would be needed for the drainage of a middle-sized farm. These representations led to the transference of the operations—then rarely exercised, on account of the expense—to the Commons Enclosure Commissioners, where the service is now rendered at about a tenth of the expense incurred by the previous centralisation, but also with the advantage of a local inspection by a specialist in land drainage, to ensure that the work shall endure and be of benefit to the latest reversioner,

who have to contribute to the distributed charge. So important has the security of the skilled inspection been found to be, that owners have borrowed money to obtain it, although they did not really want any loan. This is an instance of an effective and remunerative, as against an ineffective and ill-remunerative centralisation, which has led to a great extension of land drainage work, and on an average has repaid itself all round in seven years, or fourteen per cent., beside effecting considerable sanitary improvement to animals as well as to men. My attention was enforced in Poor Law administration, and also as of necessity in public health, as to the means of avoiding the expenses of the parliamentary centralisation.

The course for which leave was obtained to take was this: instead of bringing up selected witnesses to attend, at great expense, a Parliamentary Committee in London, we sent to the town requiring relief a specialist, of the foremost knowledge we could obtain, as an inspector, with instructions to make direct examinations and inquiries by himself, and without the intervention of any second or professional parties, and to make the inquiry for the information of ourselves, who had the highest information, and had no need to occupy ourselves with information from inferior sources. Upon his inspection, and it might be on consultation with some of the local officers, he made a report to us of what was required. That report, with any modifications we might suggest, we ordered to be printed and circulated locally for the information of the population and of all who were interested. After a time allowed for its circulation, we directed the inspector to call a public meeting of the inhabitants, and give explanations to those who wanted it, and take their opinions on the measures proposed. They were almost always returned to us as having been agreed to unanimously. On such return we made a provisional order for confirmation by Parliament, or simply by an order in Council. For the attainment of the objects before us we were *compelled* to minimise expenses. In our instructions to our inspectors we told them that their local inquiries were for *our* information, for the application of sanitary principles, on which we could not recognise any legal professional competency to give sanitary or administrative information *to us*, and that we could not sanction professional expenses with that object. The average expense of the provisional order, including the expenses of the service of the engineering inspector, local examination, and report, and also the expense of the printing and local circulation of the report—a thing never before done—averaged £136; that

Relief obtained from Parliamentary expenses in the organisation of local Poor Law administration.

Procedure by centralisation to a department devised.

Comparative economy of centralisation to a department.

is to say, some eighth of the dangerous and frequently ineffective parliamentary centralisation and procedure. The reorganisation of the local administration of England and Wales, from the parish to the union as the administrative unit, with its paid officers and central service, was effected by the like procedure, only rendered gratis. The work was new, and really interfered very little, if at all, with the parliamentary procedure. Nevertheless, it excited a violent and unwonted opposition from the parties engaged in it—from the parliamentary agents, from the parliamentary bar, and especially from some of the professional scientific evidence-givers before parliamentary committees—opposition, not loud, but persevering, latent and potent, with members of the House of Commons. In illustration of the character of such practice, I may mention that a professional scientific witness came to me privately to urge the importance of preventing the introduction of coal gas into private houses without distinct channels to remove the products of combustion. ‘I have,’ said he, ‘given evidence before Committees for the practice and against it, and I know that the products are noxious,’ assuming it as a matter of legitimate practice that he had been giving for the guidance of the Committee evidence which he knew to be fatal. I was informed that one engineering witness had given evidence in favour of a Bill for the prevention of the removal of excretion from houses by water carriage through the sewers, and in favour of removal by the tub system at an expense four times greater. I could not refrain from going to the committee and reading a careful examination that I had taken from this same witness, who had given evidence right the other way, and the Bill was rejected. It was a practice for witnesses of this class, upon retainers, to give evidence before a committee in one committee room, the very opposite of that which they had given before a committee in another. As against such evidence, uninformed and changing members of parliamentary committees are defenceless. Besides the enormous expense of the parliamentary procedure is its wastefulness from the ignorance of the committees, of which large examples may be presented of erroneous works, especially water works, for which the local rates have been heavily charged. The example presented for discrimination is another one of a centralisation to an authority which is uninformed, and liable to be ill informed, and which is irresponsible for the waste which is almost inevitable from large error; as compared with the centralisation we provided, which was economical and responsible, and had the accumulated experience of the widest area

Evils of professional evidence giving abated.

Superior information of departmental authority.

for its guidance, and which moreover was required to see to the due execution of the works which it sanctioned for the rate-payers. In this centralisation expense was minimised, and aptitudes might with the least difficulty be maximised.

Some local examinations by officers were subsequently tried, but they were not under an effective department, and had no proper place before committees, and were only an additional expense. In respect to railways, a centralisation to the railway commission might be provided on analogy to that before the Board of Health.

In some of the plans for decentralisation, and for what is called local self government, moved it will be found more by the class of rate exponents than by rate payers, it is assumed that the new local authority or county board will obtain for itself all the special service which it will need. But this implies an ignorance of the economy of the highest special service for administration and of its great scarcity. If it were for the service of internal transit, it would imply the getting some fifty Sir Rowland Hills; or if of roads, some fifty Telfords; or if of land drainage works, some fifty Sir James Cairds; whilst there is a real difficulty in obtaining one, and sustaining and ensuring the service of that one when obtained, and indeed it would be confining him to one-fiftieth the field of experience, and having subjected him to work down to ignorance, instead of up to knowledge, derived from the largest area of administration, though I believe the opposing parties were not then really hurt by it. The tendency of our new service excited such great alarm amongst the parliamentary agents, the scientific witnesses, and those concerned in legislation for local works, that a subscription was got up to sustain an organised opposition to the renewal of our Bill, which opposition, by the aid of directors of companies, sustained by the parliamentary procedure, was successful in taking the Government by surprise by a small majority at a morning sitting, by what Lord Palmerston declared to be 'the most foul vote that in all his parliamentary experience he had ever witnessed.'

Economy of superior administrative ability by centralisation to a department.

Successful opposition of sinister interests in Parliament.

What was lamentable, beside the predominance of active sinister interests against administrative improvement, was the low state of the morale prevalent in Parliament, manifested amongst those who had no such interests. The great majority of the members had experience of the benefits conferred by our procedure to the districts they represented, and often to their own property, by our work, and must have known from experi-

Low morale in Parliament on the subject.

ence that the charges preferred against us were false ; they must have had experience, in respect to the previous administration of the poor law, that wages had been augmented, production improved, and rates reduced—the rates reduced to an aggregate extent then of some sixty millions—and that their own rents had been improved by it ; yet not one came forward in defence of the truth, or for the due public recognition of the benefits of the service rendered, and of the means proper for its further advancement, of which some awakening consciousness is now, though late, being publicly manifested. It is consolatory to find that, mainly by the, as yet, partial application of the principles of sanitation which we had indicated, and by the work of the local agency we had prepared, there has been during the last decade a saving of a quarter of a million in civil life, and upwards of five millions of expenses of excessive sickness and mortality ; whilst the last census shows that during the last decade there has been a gain of two years of life to each of the population of England and Wales, which is about one-fifth of the gain which I demonstrated in the sanitary report as obtainable for the extended duration of the working ability of the wage classes in this country. In the Indian army there was during the last decade a saving by sanitation of forty thousand of force, and of at least five millions of money. It is moreover consolatory that the representatives of the guardians throughout the country have petitioned Parliament for a return to the principles of administration laid down in 1833, that is of a local administration, sustained by the more efficient central service then proposed. It is clear, especially to those sanitarians who are practically conversant with the subject, that by a strengthened staff and appropriate administrative arrangements, far greater reductions of the waste of force and of money than has hitherto been anticipated may be easily effected.

Chief gains realised by sanitation, by partial action, notwithstanding obstruction.

On Disunity as narrowing Labour Markets, and the Relief of Depressed Populations, such as the Cottier Proprietary of Ireland.

I must now solicit attention to some large economic principles which specially affect the condition of the wage classes in Ireland, most injuriously by disunity, and that probably most beneficially by extended unity with Great Britain.

Yeomanry not perished by the reduction of cottier proprietary.

An article by Mr. John Rae, in the 'Contemporary Review' for October, is entitled 'Why have the Yeomanry perished?' Without going into the reasons which he gives, my answer is that they, chiefly cottier proprietors, have not perished, but

are alive and generally living under freedom of change in other and better conditions. In the course of my service in Poor-law administration, I had to pass sales of parish property amounting in the aggregate to some three-quarters of a million sterling in value, chiefly small plots which cottier owners had; from poverty, been obliged to give up to the parishes to entitle them to relief. About the time of Tull, and later, the average yield of wheat was about the same that it is now amongst the cottier proprietors of France, namely, at about fifteen bushels an acre. In 1866 I examined the condition of the agriculturalist under *petite* culture in Belgium. I found that whilst the expense of production on the small farms of the cottier proprietors, solely confined to hand labour, was more than double that of high culture—such as that of 40 bushels per acre—the yield obtained by culture on extended areas was not greater, and was inferior in all respects and more costly than that obtainable by intensive or high culture on comparatively narrow areas—that is to say, areas large enough for the use of the best labour-saving machinery, cottier holdings, and giving high wages as well as high production. Professor Murphy, in his treatise on small farming, represents the money value which a man, woman, and child may earn by their own labour, with great skill, at about £25 per annum, with an addition of potatoes.* Mr. Jenkins, the Secretary of the Royal Agricultural Society, examined the production

Low earnings
o' cottier prop-
rietors.

* Lord Bacon highly praises the wisdom of Henry VII., who by an ordinance, provided for the maintainance of a yeomanry population, he says, 'The ordinance was, that all houses of husbandry that were used with *twenty acres of ground and upward*, should be maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent proportion of land,' *i.e.*, common land, 'to be used and occupied with them; and in no wise to be severed from them, as by another statute, made after in his successor's time, was more fully declared; this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by seizure of the land itself by the King and Lords of the See, as to half the profits, till the houses and land were restored. By this means the houses being kept up, did of necessity enforce a dweller; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, *that might keep hinds and servants*, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the might and manhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury and did in effect amortize a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentle men and cottagers or peasants.' *Lord Bacon's History of King Henry VII.*, Vol. 3, p. 31. Such as these and much larger estates in Denmark and Germany have been cited in support of measures for the maintainance of 'cottier property,' that is to say, of holdings to be worked by the owner and his family alone, who, Professor Murphy has stated, cannot work more than eight acres with a money yield of 11s. per week. Of the whole of the farming in the time of Queen Anne, according to Tull, the yield was about fifteen bushels of wheat per acre, and five fold of the seed sown, which is just about what it is now in France and in the regions of cottier property. An enlargement of farms in England went on and in

of the cottier proprietary in France, Belgium, and Denmark, for the Agricultural Commission; and he has reported that the average yield in money to the cottier proprietor's family may be represented by £30 a year, and that the cottier himself, as a rule, works twice as hard as an English labourer for half the wages. France has been cited as an example of the success of a system of cottier proprietary. In small garden culture there may be instances of moderate success, but Mr. Jenkins, in support of his conclusion, cites the authority of M. Leconteux, the Professor of Rural Economy at the Institute national, agronomique, Paris, who says: 'On compte maintenant 8 millions de propriétaires sur lesquels 3 millions inscrits sur la liste des indigents sont seuls des charges de la contribution'; that is to say, three-eighths of the landed proprietors are on the pauper roll of France. Getting rid of one order of landlords and their rents, the peasant proprietors of a large part of France have been driven to subject themselves to another order of invisible landlords, the mortgagers, and to their heavier and more rigid rents. Examination of the condition of the agricultural population have been made at the instance of our Institute of France, and it is reported that proprietors have been found in Brittany, and elsewhere, in hovels, in conditions in which intelligent agriculturists would not allow animals to live if they knew how to manage them.* In Lancashire the yeoman, the cottier pro-

Low earnings
of the cottier
proprietors in
France and on
the Continent.

the time of Arthur Young, the general yield was about twenty bushels, and eight fold of the seed sown. According to the Mark Lane returns the average yield is now about thirty-two bushels in the corn growing districts and twelve fold the seed sown. As to commons and enclosures they have been generally of land valued at 5s. per acre, and have provided 25s. per acre in labour for working them.

* Professor Voelcher, in a letter to me, stated in respect to the *petite* culture, with respect to his native country, Germany and of Belgium with which he is well acquainted. 'The position of the small peasant proprietors in these countries in my judgment is simply wretched in comparison with that of a decent English agricultural farm labourer. Man, wife, sons, and daughters of a small peasant proprietor have all to work hard from early morn to night in order to gain enough to keep body and soul alive. As a rule their scanty earnings oblige the small peasant proprietor to exist upon the most frugal fare and to live in dirty crowded hovels. Both as regards food and housing the English agricultural labourer unquestionably is at least 50 per cent. better off than the small peasant proprietors of Belgium and Germany.' 'The result of the *petite* culture is that the proprietor has no money to spare to cultivate his few small fields properly and buy stock to feed properly the cows and pigs he can afford to keep. In many cases the land is mortgaged to the utmost extent, and he is in debt all life long. Land farmed without dung, farm-yard or artificial manure, I need not remind you, cannot, and, as a matter of fact does not produce half the amount of good which well-managed farms varying from 200 to 500 acres and upwards yields, as against *petite* culture. The application of artificial manures or the production of an adequate supply of home-made dung, or the use of labour-saving machinery are impossibilities in *petite* culture, and the results are everywhere the same, viz., poor crops, bad earnings, extravagant values put upon the land, and a hard and miserable living to

prietor, was, I know, wont to add to the earnings of his farm by hand-loom weaving in his coitage. But that labour was extensively superseded by the power-loom in large factories; whilst 'navvy' work and other work at three, four, and five shillings a day came when he abandoned his holding for such wages. By improved culture on a large scale, the general yield of wheat in England has expanded to more than double the average yield of the cottier properties in France, or to 32 bushels in the southern counties. In the northern counties and in Scotland it may be said to have advanced in many districts to 40 bushels. Wheat may be taken in agriculture as the equivalent of Consols in finance, for a rough, convenient practical standard of comparison. With the increased production wages have advanced. In the southern counties this began immediately after the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed, and a change effected in the labourer's condition from one almost of serfage, and from living partly upon doles as out-door relief, to the condition of one of living solely upon productive labour. This began long before the repeal of the Corn Laws, which Mr. Bright has been wont to assign as the cause of that increase of wages. And now two men earn as much as three did before the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act. In the northern counties the wages average £52 per annum to the man, to the woman £12, and to the boy £6, so that from £70 to £80 of money wages go into the wageman's cottage, or more than double the money result obtainable by the crofter and more than double means of saving for a position of a rich southerner. As to the yeomanry, they will now be found in Great Britain in other better-paying employment, as well as in agriculture, in greater numbers than heretofore. For a battle field they will be found chiefly in the grand army of two hundred and twenty thousand volunteers, now riflemen, as effective as any bowmen of old.

Advance in earnings of the wage classes beyond the cottier proprietors.

As respects Ireland, Professor Baldwin states that there are there upwards of one hundred thousand holdings, many of which he has seen himself, so very small that it is impossible for the occupiers to obtain a subsistence for themselves and their families upon them. Indeed, Dr. Grimshaw, the Registrar-General of Ireland, gives me returns from the last census, which show 150,000 holdings insufficient certainly to yield produce for the subsistence of a family. Some of them only subsist by means

Low earnings of the cottier proprietors in Ireland.

which the small peasant proprietor is condemned.' I was assured by the Secretary of the Agricultural Association at Berlin, that the whole agricultural production of Germany was less than one half that of England. According to Dr. H. Geffachen, the number of heads of families who must in Prussia be exempted from direct taxation because they were earning less than £25 per annum, or less than 7s. 3½d. per week, was, in 1882, upwards of seven millions, and the numbers increase every year.

of outdoor labour, chiefly by harvest work in Great Britain. That labour market has, to some extent, been encroached upon by reaping machines. Has it been seriously considered how effectually it must be closed—as a source of relief—by disunity, whilst by more complete unity and by education it might be largely extended in manufactures and in commerce as well as in agriculture?

Means of advancing the earnings of the wage classes beyond the cottier proprietors in Ireland.

My friend, the late Mr. Bence Jones, presented a demonstration of what might be done extensively for Ireland by a fourfold production, leading to fourfold wages, as in Scotland. When he came into possession of his estate and farmed it himself, the wages were only three shillings a week, and he was scowled at for immediately advancing them to four. He went on, however, improving his production from a result of ten shillings to one of forty shillings an acre; leading to an advance of his wages to two shillings a day, which placed his labourers in a better condition than all the surrounding small farmers. But instead of the example being hailed, even if there were other causes of offence, he was reviled and boycotted, and compelled to seek the protection of the police. Nevertheless I cannot but believe that the natural operation of complete unity, and the examples of Scotland and England, must lead to its future extended application.

General need of land drainage in Ireland.

I proposed one measure of relief which he anxiously urged me to prosecute; and I did write a paper upon it, which I submitted to influential parties. I may state it thus:

Ireland is wetter than England, and is in greater need of subsoil drainage for agricultural production and, in my view, for sanitation also. In England, so far as it has been carried, it has on an average paid itself in seven years according to Sir James Caird, that is, has paid fourteen per cent. The Duke of Argyle states that in his part of Scotland crops have in some instances been doubled by land drainage. There are no supersaturated pieces of land in Ireland where the sanction of a health officer might not be obtained to an order for the drainage of the land as a work of sanitation. The occupier would be approached with this order. He would be told that plans for its execution would be provided, with superintendence, and with money borrowed at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for its payment. He might be also told that £5 per acre would be allowed for the work, which he might do himself at two shillings per diem piece work. This, he might state, will come to £50 for your ten-acre plot. It would be double your present earnings, and you may with that half take yourself and your

Abundant labour found in drainage works in Ireland.

family to Canada, or the States if you like, where, instead of two shillings a day, you may earn four, and with your augmented savings buy land at some six shillings an acre in a better climate.' This would enable him to work his way out if he chose it, and in the opinion of Mr. Bence Jones and others in Ireland, the measure would be greedily and extensively accepted, and would promote such enlargement of the holdings as is requisite to enable their holders to live upon them. Such loans as have been taken up for private drainage works have been all paid as well as similar loans in England, and in his view there would be no material loss from such advances. The work should be carried out specially throughout those districts of small holdings described by Professor Baldwin, which are the seats of perpetual misery, and the chief seats of disturbance; where it would besides operate as a measure of pacification, for the occupiers kept in the trenches all day could not attend moonlight or other meetings at night. To some extent I acquit myself as regards Mr. Bence Jones's exhortation by stating the measure of pacification now. It would follow from the principle of administrative unity that the measure should be directed chiefly from the drainage department in England. Contrary to what is generally stated, English executive officers have been the most acceptable to the Irish wage classes, who have more confidence in them than in Irishmen.

From what I learned some time ago in these districts of small farms, the hours of the day's effective labour were not more than one-half those of the English labourer; the working days of the year, what with attendance at meetings, and at market without anything to sell, were one-third less; and the years of life were not much more than one-half those of an English agricultural labourer.

To elucidate further the question of unity, I may state, what appears to be little understood by many political writers, that, as a rule, two-thirds of rent represent capital; that is to say, as against bare land—undrained, unfenced, unroaded, unhoused, and unbarned. To a considerable extent wages keep pace with rents. As a rule, rents are one-third lower in Ireland than in England; and, as a rule, rents are a third lower in the southern districts in England than in the northern districts, or than in Scotland. In Ireland wages have not much advanced generally beyond a shilling a day, whilst in England and in Scotland they have advanced, as I have stated, with a still higher order of culture. For the two shillings or half-a-crown a day wages of Scotland or the north of England, it may be confidently

Two-thirds of
rent capital as
against bare
land.

expected that the cottiers of Ireland would have extensively followed the example of the 'statesmen' of England and of the crofters of Scotland, and have given up their miserable subsistence as cottiers and inferior production for the higher condition of wage men.

Advance of
wages with the
advance of the
use of
machinery.

In England, especially, the use of machinery is advancing; and where machinery advances, wages must advance, necessarily, from putting more and more capital under one hand, requiring more and more of intelligence and trustworthiness, and of interest in the work. For arterial drainage in agriculture there is now the 'steam navvy,' which, with six or seven well-paid men, does the work of fifty navvies. For the subsoil, or capillary drainage, drain-cutting machines are appearing. Steam power is advancing on all the operations, of repetitions of motion, in agriculture, and where steam power advances wages advances. The man who works a steam-engine with $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of coal per horse power, may be cheaper at 30s. per week than a man at 20s. per week who works it with 8 lbs. or more. With these appliances the cost of production may, with largely increased wages, be greatly reduced in agriculture, as it has been in manufactures, below the existing cost of production now prevailing anywhere on the Continent, or even in the United States.

It may be maintained as a principle of political economy, that a poor man must make a poor master, and that he had better serve a rich one, a capitalist, *i.e.* a work finder and a wage finder;—that a poor man never works for so bad a master as when he works for himself. In Ireland he works for himself as a cottier at half wages, to raise only two-thirds of the produce of such large farms as there are there, and raises it at high prices against machinery, against the steam plough, or the cultivator, which will give him more than double wages for himself and his family.

Disastrous
effect of
separation in
reducing
the labour
market for
Ireland.

Complete unity of law and procedure everywhere is of the highest interest to the wage classes. The maintenance by disunity of distinct laws and of social conditions operates to the maintenance of distinct social feelings and animosities obstructive to the free interchange of service and condition, narrows the labour market and diminishes its freedom. For the Irish of the wage classes, peculiarly—with the education that is now being given to them, there would be opened under the natural operation of a more complete unity, an extended labour market of a high and improved order. The English wage classes had become unconscious of racial feelings against the

Irish. Antagonism against them, as competitors in the labour market, was in the course of extinction. Genial feelings towards them were advancing—when the agitation of the separatists arose to throw all back, and must tend to close against them the labour market which now exists. For that agitation not a ray of economic light for internal guidance is visible to me—nothing but dark, mediæval passion and the revival of primeval savagery.

The best chief local administration in principle possessed by Ireland.

I have a confident belief that it will be found on examination, that Ireland has really, with inferior materials for unpaid service, the best chief branches of local administration, aided by central service in the empire—the best Poor Law administration—the best road administration, and, after all deductions, it has in the essentials the best police administration. If the principle of these branches be extended and made general throughout the empire there would be a great gain of administrative force, with a large reduction of the burden of local rates. The principle for the administration of the relief to the destitute in Ireland were those which we proposed as more specially applicable to the institution of the central control for the administration of the Poor Law in England. It will appear to be of importance for Ireland that this central service should be distant, unimpassioned as well as strong.

To revert to the effect of the unification of administration, and the selection and general application of the best, in the production of a single-chambered Legislature.

It must be said that a three-chambered Legislature must be, so to speak, a narrow-minded Legislature, emitting only narrow-minded local legislation. The member of the English section or chamber says to himself, 'That measure,' if it be not a party measure, 'is "only Irish," or "only Scotch,"' and does not care about it; the Irish member says that it is only English, or only Scotch, and he does not heed it; and the Scotch member returns the compliment on both. When they are led to vote upon a neutral measure, it is usually upon influence and not upon conviction. A general measure, founded upon the experience of the whole administrative area, prepared by the best administrative service, must set aside the narrow provincial views, and obtain votes upon the perception of the widest experiences, and be worthy of a single-chambered Legislature.

Until this is obtained, the action of the Legislature must continue to be halting, dilatory, expensive, and vexatious, tending to produce legislative and administrative disintegration. When unity is obtained by doing the same thing in the same way everywhere, choosing the best, one event for Ireland may be expected to follow, namely: the abolition of the Lord-Lieutenancy, the abolition of which the late Earl Fortescue, on his experience as Lord-Lieutenant, declared to be most desirable. Sir Alfred Power, one of my colleagues, as an Assistant Commissioner on the Poor Law of England, and late Commissioner of the Local Government Board of Ireland, one of the ablest administrators that Ireland has ever had, has written on the evils of the continuance of the Lord-Lieutenancy. If that be continued, if separate administration of the same things be continued, it may be asked why a separate and dilatory system of legislation should be continued.

It may be repeated, on a knowledge of administrative principle, that, except under extraordinary circumstances, any legislation and administration for Ireland alone—that is to say, for one-seventh of the available area of administration—must be proportionately inferior or in expense, excessive, to be at all equal in execution. It must be narrow and behind-hand, of inferior and provincial character. The poor benighted Irishman may be asked to see whither he is being led? Whether he will be made a shut out foreigner, shut out of the largest labour market, and left as a tribesman of an out of the way place, a diminishing seventh of the United Kingdom living under no other than the barren conceptions of the mediæval rule of the past and the bad, or be a citizen, partaking of the advanced law, for the future and the better, of the greatest empire in the world, which he has more or less served in the ranks to advance?

The Evils of Disunity in Civic or County Local Administration.

What I have hitherto treated of—the advantages of unity in legislation for the present very much disunited kingdom—was illustrated by examples of its advantages in several special branches of *national* administration. I shall now endeavour to display the special advantages of unity, and the disadvantages of disunity, in the proper or the entire central area for the local administration of a city or of a county. This may be best displayed by what was prepared to be done, and partially was done, and what was prevented being completely done for the relief of the metropolis. The details, though unavoidably lengthened, may be of interest as serving to show the greater part of the requirements for the sanitation of our urban populations.

The sanitary measures required for the relief of an urban district will generally be those for the relief of the supersaturated sites and for the suburban lands, by subsoil drainage; next will follow the drainage of the houses, and then their relief by separate sewerage. In our examinations under the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission we found that cases of ague and fever amidst the population, increased according to the prevalence of easterly winds over the metropolis from the Kent and Essex marshes, together with fogs aggravating the excess of the urban smoke. We found fever and diseases of the zymotic class excessive on the supersaturated sites of houses on the lower levels; we found the houses generally ill-drained, and the sewers generally sewers of deposit. The primary works of sewerage for the whole of the metropolis were under eight independent commissions (*i.e.* taking the extensive jurisdiction of the City corporation as eventually equivalent to one), whose functions were chiefly exercised in the repair of old sewers, the extension of new ones required for new buildings, and the admission of junctions of drains from houses with the internal formation of which, as a system, they had nothing to do. The commissioners were generally tradesmen, or socially of about the same position as vestrymen, and of no position or note in science; and their chief officers were, with one excep-

Advantages of unity for local self government in provincial cities and counties.

Examples of the losses from disunity in the drainage works of the metropolis.

tion, architects in private practice, to which their public service was very subordinate. Their knowledge of hydraulics may be seen displayed in their examinations, or in their practice in the drainage of houses, drains made commonly of the capacity of chimneys, such as would each serve for the drainage of several hundred houses.

Examples of the gains from unity prepared for the drainage of the metropolis.

This administrative organisation, dividing the field of service into separate and independent commissions, precluded the service required for it being carried on systematically—however well each commission might have been composed—and with whatsoever staff of officers of special scientific competency each might have been provided. They could not have done separately the general work required for the whole of the metropolis, even if they had been so minded. On our recommendation the separate commissions were dissolved, and a commission for the entire field of service of the whole of the metropolis and the suburbs, was appointed. On that commission we obtained the services of Sir Henry de la Beche, the chief of the Ordnance Survey, and several other scientists of distinction. Lord Carlisle, the President of the General Board of Health, and then in the Cabinet, was our chairman, and gave earnest attention to the subject. We obtained for our permanent staff the best specialists as sanitary engineers that were to be got, who gave their whole time to the service. We obtained a considerable accession to this force, which we could direct upon any given point; and we gained it, by this organisation, at a very material reduction of expense over the comparatively inferior service of the separate organisations.

Ordnance survey on a scale for house drainage.

We directed our earliest attention to the attainment of an ordnance survey for the whole of the metropolis, on such a scale as to enable the lines of drains laid down in future to be registered, so as to be found when required, and of such an area as to include the suburban marsh lands of Essex and Kent, for the protection of the metropolis, by subsoil drainage. We reversed the common course of dealing with the surface drainage of towns: we made the house the first object of amendment, the street or the sewer the next, and then the main trunk outfalls. I had the first pipe-pot sewer made that I know of in modern times, and to ascertain the rate at which water moved in the smooth channel, as compared with the rough brick channels, of which house drains and sewers were in those days formed, we had trial works made under careful supervision to determine the size, forms, and inclinations at which tubular drains could be made self-cleansing. In one trial, in a street,

it was found that a five-inch pipe would force and carry away, the fouled water from 1,200 houses. This was apart from any rainfall, to carry off which, according to the professors of architecture, such a pipe had been declared to be necessary for a single house, and to carry off which, from such a number of houses, engineers had provided a flat segmental sewer 3 feet wide, and a sectional area of 15 feet, which accumulated deposit requiring to be cleansed out by manual labour.

Scale of sizes of drains and sewers for self cleansing obtained.

Preparatory to the application of the new system of self-cleansing house drains and of self-cleansing sewers for the metropolis, we got carefully observed trials made of their application to blocks of houses; one of them to try the plan of combined back drainage, or carrying the drains along the backs of houses instead of through the houses into the front streets; and several of these to houses of the lowest class, or to what would be called 'slums.' The draining and water-closeting of the slums was satisfactory in reducing the foul smells. It would have been more satisfactory if the water arrangements and the front pavement at the time had permitted the cleansing in the front of the houses with the hose and jet. The inmates expressed themselves much satisfied with this mode of cleansing and it was most satisfactory in an administrative point of view, in showing that the force gained under unity might be directed with a power and speed, even upon the worst parts of the system, that would be impracticable under disunity. It was, in fact, proved that with a trained staff the work could be done more economically in one-third of the time than it could have been done by any of the separate commissions if they had the authority to do what was required. We had trial works made which established the receptivity of the soil near the metropolis for the sewage, for agricultural production.

Gain in time, in economy, and efficiency in sanitary works obtainable under unity.

Important as all these trial works and their results were when impartially considered—important for the advance of sanitary science in the country at large as well as for the metropolis—they were regarded with jealousy by the various vestry interests represented in the House of Commons, which were supported there by civil engineers—chiefly railway engineers. Mr. Robert Stephenson, it must be said, was strongly prejudiced against pipe sewers, and defended vehemently the continued use of 'man-sized sewers,' which accumulated deposit and required men to enter them and remove the stagnant deposit by manual labour. He expressed his detestation of pipe sewers. I was greatly taken by surprise at this opposition from Mr. Stephenson, who had deferred to me in withdrawing a plan which he had

Opposition secured to sanitary works under unity.

proposed at the Health of Towns Commission of a hard water supply, for the one I proposed of a soft spring supply from the Surrey tanks, and had led me to believe in his entire concurrence with me in sanitary principle. The opposition to the introduction of a system of pipe sewers was afterwards thus followed up.

Propagation of
misrepresentation
in
respect to pipe
drains.

In the first work of laying down pipe drains, there were, from ignorant workmanship and deficient superintendence, frequent instances of bad jointing, and stoppages and failures from faulty foundations. Such instances were carefully collected and exhibited in cross sections, and sent about all Europe to sustain the general conclusion that on the whole tubular drains were the most liable to stoppage; the greater demonstrations of success being passed over. The issue on this question was, sanitarily, a momentous one, namely, whether urban populations should continue to live in the effluvia of their own excrements detained in stagnation in drains and sewers. Great opposition was raised in Parliament for the authoritative condemnation of the system of lines of sewers which we had adopted, as being contrary to all sound engineering principle. That which we had adopted, after much examination, was what was called the separate system, epitomised by the phrase, 'the rainfall to the river and the sewage to the soil (land).' On the separate system, all the clear rainfall and all the subsoil water from spaces uncovered by houses were to be conveyed to the river; whilst all the fouled water from the houses, and also, in my own view, some of the first washings of the streets, in which there was often much manurial matter—upwards of a thousand loads a day as estimated by a measured instance of a sub-district—were to be treated as sewage, until the tails of storms ran clear, when it could be diverted to the river. The opposite system adopted, chiefly at the instance of railway engineers, whose drainage of their own proper works, the railways, I was prepared to show was commonly defective in principle;—was what is called the 'combined system,' that is, the combining in the same sewer all the ordinary rainfall and all the storm water and throwing both altogether into the river or into the sea where that can be reached. The 'separate system' was set aside, as related to the trunk line of sewers under that general representative body of the vestries the Board of Works, and the combined system was adopted. I may thus describe its working.

The separate
system of town
drainage ex-
plained.

The combined
system of
sewers ex-
plained.

The combination of the rainfall with the sewage proper leads to the construction of large tunnel sewers of a capacity to receive the rain and storm water. On 'dry days' the flow is

shallow, and, being spread over wide bottoms, deposit is occasioned, and hence putrid decomposition and the necessity of flushing operations by men to cleanse the sewers. One hundred and twenty-five men were thus employed, at an expense of £14,000 per annum, for work which I must declare to be an ignorant and pernicious malfeasance. A line of this description of 'man-sized' sewer passes down Parliament Street, and receives the sewage of the Government departments. On a late examination, putrid deposit a foot deep was found in it, the emanations from it passing through the drains into the buildings. In the Colonial Department there had been cases of fever and two deaths. Sir R. A. Cross, the Secretary of the Home Department, stated in Parliament that he found himself so much oppressed with headache from the air there that he did as much of the work as he could at home, and similar complaints were made at the Local Government Board. In my sanitary report of 1843 I described these 'man-sized' sewers as the 'bulbs of retorts' charged with putrescent matter, and the drains as the necks of the retorts to carry the products of decomposition into houses. These constructions accumulating a stagnant deposit, being taken as constants, the general effort is, by traps or otherwise, to fence off the houses from those products, to carry them above the houses, and discharge them into the superincumbent atmosphere. On the separate system, in the place of the large 'man-sized' sewer described, there would have been on the line of Parliament Street two lines of small pipe sewers, one on each side for that wide street, perfectly self-cleansing and clear of stagnant and putrid deposit. For the mile, taken as an example, the estimated cost of the two pipes was about £2,000. The cost for a mile of the great tunnel man-sized sewer—a cost there certainly exceptionally high, but which competent sanitary science would have foreseen—has been upwards of £120,000, about enough to have drained every house and all the sixteen miles of streets of the whole of Westminster with a complete self-cleansing system of house drains, as well as of sewers. The cost of the whole of the trunk lines of the outfall sewers, completed by the Board of Works, has been six millions. In a paper which he read at the meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Social Science, held at Liverpool, giving an account of the expense of self-cleansing sewers, Mr. (now Sir) Robert Rawlinson says: 'Supposing a sewer did not exist in the metropolis, then, according to the cost of the public sewers in other places named in the table hereto appended, the money required to sewer the whole

Effects of stagnant deposit from the combined system.

Excessive cost of the combined system.

Economy of drainage on the separate system and abolition of stagnancy.

of the metropolis, to include outlets, should not exceed £1,396,333. 6s. 4d.; that is, for instance, 340,000 houses at £3. 18s. 8d. each, that being the average for the public sewerage of the nine towns named in the table.' The general cost, where the separate system, under our Board of Health, when properly carried out, was for constant supplies of water brought into the house, for the water closet, for removal of all the fouled water out of the house through self-cleansing drains, for the share of the self-cleansing sewer, and for immediate removal out of the town, threepence-halfpenny per house per week, or a halfpenny per house per diem. But the price of labour has since then largely increased, and the expense would now be nearly doubled and might amount to about a penny per house per diem.

On the experience of our separate system, this sum of six millions expended on the combined system would have sufficed for the construction of a complete system of self-cleansing sewers for every court, alley, or street in the metropolis, and for the re draining of all the ill drained houses, stated to be more than two-thirds of those drained on the old system in the metropolis.

Relief on the
separate
system by
convergency
and pumping
sumps.

In the separate system, as applied to London, with its low levels north and south, the discharge of the sewers, as well as of the rainfalls, would have been converged into separate 'sumps,' from whence it would have been lifted by steam power. This system was based on the experience of the drainage of the flat fen districts of Lincolnshire; and we showed (in our Report on the water supply of the metropolis) that the cost of lowering the water table, or in fact producing the effect of elevating the house above the subsoil, would not cost more than ninepence per house per annum, which would effect a great saving of dilapidations from damp. The engineers, however, who were in favour of the combined system, would hear of no operation by pumping, and were for the discharge of all sewage by what they called the 'natural method,' or by gravitation. But if we had been allowed our opportunity, we should have fully established our case; as may be seen expounded in the evidence of Mr. Henry Austin, our chief sanitary engineer, in our first Report.

The two systems, the separate and the combined, have been, however, it is just to state, examined by distinguished sanitary engineers of Germany, of France, and of the United States. By all those whom I know the separate system has been decidedly preferred. By the Government of Germany it has been adopted, after a careful study, for Berlin, closely on the lines I had laid out for London, by pumping, in lines radiating

out in the direction of the demand for sewage farms, which are now in progress of extension. The same principles have been already applied at Dantzic and other German cities. At Paris it is supported in reports of M. Mille, the *ingénieur-en-chef*. At Paris and other parts of France the principles are advocated by the most eminent engineers. Baltimore takes the lead in the United States, with a very complete and exemplary measure. A plan for the drainage of Cawnpore, on the combined system, was referred to me for examination and report by the Indian Department. I submitted the experiences of the separate system, and showed that it would enable three cities to be drained well at a cost that must be incurred for draining one ill on the combined system adopted for London. My principles were sanctioned, and a copy of my report was directed to be forwarded to the works departments of India, with the official sanction of its principles. A plan has been sent to me of their application for the relief of the population at Poonah, which plan, when executed, may serve as a leading example of what may be done by sanitation for the sanitary relief and advancement of the health and strength of the civil population of India.

Decisions in
favour of the
separate
system.

The promise held forth by the vestral authority-- the Metropolitan Board of Works--was that the Thames should be purified from the sewage by the system they had been led to adopt. But from river-side population arise complaints that, owing to the method in which the sewage has been thrown into it, the river has still been polluted as far up as and beyond Richmond--complaints so loud that a commission has been appointed to inquire into them. I apprehend that the extent of the dilution of the sewage will be so great as to add enormously to the expense of its separation by precipitation in the several methods proposed by chemists. The late General Scott, R.A., estimated that the least it could be done for would be £100,000 per annum. On the occasion of the International Medical Congress, we took a party of foreign health officers to see the sanitary works on the separate system at Croydon, and for their information I asked the surveyor, 'Are your houses all water closeted?' 'Yes, they are.' 'In what time, then, is all the fecal matter removed from the farthest point of the town to the outfall and on to the land?' 'In about two hours' was the answer. The deputation went to the outfall, and there perceived no smell of decomposition. On the land there was a fivefold yield of superior milk and butter. Yet, in the face of such examples of works, now answering

General
results of the
separate
system
exemplified.

abroad as well as at home, the vestral authorities, it must be said from their incompetency, have in the metropolis thrown away what is the equivalent of the milk and butter of some two hundred and fifty-thousand cows, into the river or the sea. The combined system of excessive rainfall or storms so dilutes the sewage, especially in towns, as to render it worthless for distribution, particularly over the land already drenched.*

The experiences of the fen system of working by convergence into sumps (on which Mr. Isaac Shone claims to have made some important improvements, strongly supported by Lieut.-Col. Jones, R.E., V.C.) warrant the conclusion that from every part of the farthest part of the metropolis the sewage of the morning from its half million of houses would have been, and would be on the land by about the middle of the day, not merely in mechanical suspension, but, as at Croydon, in chemical combination. Fresh sewage is more fertilising by a third than putrid sewage. A verification would have been presented, and may yet be presented on a grand scale, of the maxim of de Candolle, the greatest vegetable physiologist of the last century, that the future of agriculture will be found in giving food and water at the same time.

The work and the expenditure of the separate vestral authorities on the branch sewers it is difficult to get at. It is known that these authorities are largely composed of owners of the worst-conditioned houses, and of exceptionally heavily-rented slums requiring amendment. From a subterranean survey, they must have had in charge more than a thousand miles of old sewers of deposit requiring removal. The sure test of a local sanitary administration is the nose. At times, under certain barometrical conditions, the police report most offensive and noxious smells to be prevalent in a number of the districts under these vestral local administrations.

A share in the reduction of the death rates which have recently taken place in the metropolis has been imagined as due to the Board of Works, but such imagination is wholly unfounded. Large tunnel sewers of deposit, such as those of Westminster, giving off the emanations of stagnant and putrid deposit, lead to augmentations and nowhere to the reductions of the death rates, which have been the result of the extensive

* Since this was written, the Report of Lord Bramwell and his colleagues of the Commission on the purification of the Thames, pronounces the condition produced by this combined system of the Metropolitan Board of Works to be 'a disgrace to the Metropolis and to Civilization.' I have written a distinct paper to develop specially the separate and combined systems of drainage as applicable to the metropolis and to towns generally, which is published by Messrs. Longman.

reductions of nuisances which, as may be seen in the reports of the large newly appointed officers of health and of their surveyors and sanitary inspectors.

In view of the unity of administration of the metropolis, of which the consolidation of the eight separate sewers commissions was the first step, an examination of the water supplies was made and reported upon by our first General Board of Health. It was found that under eight separate Acts, shareholders had been invited by as many companies to advance their money mostly for the introduction of separate district supplies mostly from river sources—at the best from the surface washings of land generally in cultivation—but chiefly from rivers notoriously polluted with sewage: whilst, with proper search, pure spring supplies in adequate quantities were obtainable. But extensions from such sources have been sanctioned by Parliamentary Committees after it had been shown that three-fifths, at the least, of the existing supplies were distributed in injurious waste, and, moreover, that the house distribution was in butts and cisterns, and in such methods that by stagnation good supplies were made bad, and bad supplies were made worse and dangerous to drink. In our Report we prepared a measure for unity, including the payment of the shareholders, which would then have been achieved at less than one-third of the cost that it is now admitted must be incurred for retrieving the ignorant and mischievous waste under disunity sanctioned by the procedure of successive Parliamentary Private Bill Committees.

At the consolidated commission of sewers I got trial works made of the quantities of water that would be required for the regular cleansing of the streets by water and by the jet. It then was proved that the work could be done by that method, as it is now done in clean-streets Paris, in Vienna, and Madrid, much cheaper than it can be done by the scavengers' broom, which, indeed, at best, daubs the surface and leaves much putrescible matter on the surface and between the interstices of the carriage pavement. By the measures prepared, every court, alley, and street would have been made as clean as a court-yard, and the population of the metropolis would have been relieved from their grievance of seas of mud in winter, and clouds of dust in summer, from one source of aggravation of diseases of the respiratory organs, and from injury and loss on clothes and on furniture.

As a rule the smaller the administrative area, the less the administrative force it can have, the lower the quality of the force, and the greater the expense. The old parish with its

Proposed
unity of the
metropolitan
water com-
panies on a
public footing.

Street washing
by hose and
jet provided
for.

Examples of
the expenses
of unpaid

service under
disunity.

unpaid overseer was about one-third dearer in its cost of service than the union with its paid officers with an improved quality of service, which, however, may be augmented by a further extension of the administrative area. The administration of the smaller area can only be kept up to a common level by additional aid *ab extra*, by a central authority which is troublesome and yet incomplete. The need of such aid is diminished and the expense of self-government reduced by the extension of the administrative area. It has been distinctly proved that the expenses of the provincial police-forces are not greater than those of the unpaid parish constables, whilst the service has been largely augmented, and would be further augmented without increased expense by complete unity. In a paper I wrote in 1828 I first expounded the principles of unity, and displayed the evils of disunity, in the parish nightly watch force of the metropolis. This was the first time the principle was expounded, and it was followed by the adoption of the principle in Sir Robert Peel's measure for the consolidation of the police force of the metropolis under unity, with the exception of the City force. I had not then the means of obtaining the expense of the parish constabulary night force, but I expect it was not much less than that of the day as well as the night force under unity by which the service is vastly augmented. And yet this force presents in itself an example of the increased cost of disunity occasioned by allowing the Corporation to have its separate force. That separate force has at present a superior command. Nevertheless the service has been proved to be of unavoidably inferior quality, clashing on ordinary occasions, inadequate for protection on great occasions, without the aid of the general force. By the retrieval of the error in legislation the inhabitants of the City will gain greater protection and obtain a saving of from £35,000 to £40,000 per annum, or nearly £4 per house, large and small. The present cost of the general police force is about eightpence per house per week.*

Unpaid
service in
parishes as
expensive as
paid forces
under unity
and less
affective.

* Instances of the beauties of mediæval art are revived and presented which raise associations of the beautiful with mediæval administrative institutions, as if all were befittingly beautiful in the conditions of the people, resulting from the self-government of their mayors, their aldermen, their guilds, their wards, the securities of their nightly watch, and the beneficence of their parochial administration. Whereas, to use the words of Hobbs, the life of man in general, under the common conditions, was then 'poor, nasty, brutish, and short.' According to John Graunt's reports from the parish registers, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the condition of the whole City outside those edifices was very much that of a 'slum'; the death rate was in fact that of a slum, or more than forty in a thousand; but now, under some advance towards unity and centralisation, it is about twenty in a thousand, still including upwards of one-third of preventible deaths. The death rate then largely exceeded the birth rate, and the lesser

The contention is now for the continuance of a detrimental disunity of one square mile of a drainage area out of one hundred and twenty-five under unity; and of the sanitation of between nine and ten thousand houses out of half a million under unity; of a population under fifty-one thousand comparatively heavily death-rated, to what is now nearly five millions under unity;—the atmosphere of the smaller disunited population being such that no mayor or alderman, I believe, now resides in it with his family, and only goes to an office a few hours a day, and seeks refuge with his family in some lower death-rated district under unity. By a late Lord Mayor my counsel was sought on a sanitary question of water supply in which he was interested, but could see no aid in the sanitary force afforded by disunity. The change will be from the disunity of a third-rate metropolitan parish—from a mere sham—to the reality of the unity comprising a population as large as that of the whole of England in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and approaching to that of Belgium now.*

Proportion of
city disunity
to metropoli-
tan unity.

population of the City at that time was kept up by immigration from beautiful rural districts; now the reverse is the case. The death rate of the children under five years was then one-third, or thirty-three per hundred. It is now twenty-seven, and grievously too heavy. The deaths from old age, or the age then called old, probably of seventy, were 7 per cent.; they are now sadly too low; in the City proper they are 18 per cent. It was a boast that the deaths from starvation were not more than one in four thousand, exclusive of the numerous deaths of infants. At that rate the deaths from starvation for the whole of the Metropolis would be 1,250 annually. But deaths from actual starvation, the privation of food, are now so rare as not to form a heading in the statistical returns. I got particular inquiries into the rare cases that did occur, and found that they really amounted to cases of suicide in neglecting to make due application for the relief now provided for the destitute. As to personal security John Graunt boasts that only one death in two thousand was a case of murder, which he ascribes to the good local Government. 'The post of the Government and the guard of the City being by citizens themselves, and that alternately. No man settling into a trade for that employment.' 'Whereas in Paris few nights escape without their tragedy.' Now, at that rate, the number of murders for the whole of the Metropolis would amount to 2,500 annually, whilst under unity and the Metropolitan and City police, they now amount to an average of no more than twelve for the whole five millions of population guarded by that force, or a population which approaches to that of the whole kingdom of England and Wales in the time of Elizabeth.

* People speak of the retention of functions now passed and gone, and for which under existing conditions there is no longer any room. Thus the primitive Alderman had really much serious work to do. He had in charge the military training of the bands of his ward, and to lead them in armour and to fight. Here are the terms of an order of the time of Richard the Second, sent to every Alderman, 'We do command you that together with the good men of your ward you be well and sufficiently armed, arrayed in red and white particoloured, over your armour, to keep the watch on the eve of St. Paul next to come, in manner as heretofore, for the honour of the City, and for keeping the peace; and this you are not to omit, on the peril which attends the same, and as you would save the honour of the City.'

Loss by the
disunity of the
police service
for fire protec-
tion.

But one of the topics of the largest gain to the populace will be the retrieval of the losses occasioned by the disunity

'And upon this, by the advice of the Mayor and Alderman, the said watch was made in manner as follows: that is to say, all the Aldermen with the good men of the ward assembled in Smithfield on the eve of St. John arrayed as aforesaid, and from thence passed through the City—the Alderman, and then the men of the wards, as follows: first the wards of Tower, Billingsgate, Aldgate, Lyme Street, with cressets and lances white, powdered with red stars; secondly, the wards of Dowgate, Candlewick Street, Dowgate, Walbroke, with lances all red; thirdly, Bishopsgate, Langbourne, Cornhill, Bread Street, with lances environed, that is to say, wreathed with red; fourthly, Farnbone, Castle Baynard, Aldrichgate, with black lances powdered with white stars; fifthly, Chepe, Creplegate, Coleman Street, Bassinshaw, with lances all white; sixthly, Broad Street, Queen Hythe, Vintry and Cordwainers Street, with lances.' All this the Alderman's array and that of the wards, which at times did really serious battle for the kingdom, is now done for this hundredth part of the Metropolis, by Colonel Fraser and his fragment of a Police Force, in substitution of the old parish nightly watches which I helped to get abolished, and which for the City district is yet wanted under unity. I was persuaded by some friends—officers of the Volunteers—to go with them and address the Lord Mayor and Alderman, in Common Hall, to endeavour to get them to give their support to that great force, but we found, I may say, that almost all trace of the old civic armour bearers had disappeared. The Alderman had formerly, however, other very serious duties to perform. He had the 'water supplies by conduits and water carriers' in his ward to look after. That service is now performed by the Water Companies, and by the house-to-house distribution such as it is—much neglected. He had to look to the 'Lighting of his Ward' by the old oil lamps. This service is performed by the Gas Companies in a way to which he pays no attention. Then as to the service of the Relief of the Destitute. Under our first Poor Law Board, we found the City Workhouse, that might have been made a good institution, so neglected, that it was given up, and we took charge of the City children, dispersed in various places, and collected them together at Anerley, and at the Central District School at Hanwell, where I got them placed on the half-time principle of mixed physical and mental training, destined I hope with the great success that will lead to its extension as a national system of education. So far as I was concerned, I felt grateful for their non-interference. I hope the Alderman will not now stand in the way of the appropriation of City Charity Funds, in aid of an object of the greatest need and benefit: the establishment of colleges, as in Sweden, for the promotion of scientific physical training, commensurate with mental training. Of the older functions of the Alderman were those of the regulation of trades and the supplies of provisions, to regulate their prices, and to regulate buying and selling, to see that the weights and measures were true; but this last duty is or ought to be performed by the Police. He had to see to the ale and to the purity of foods; but this is now done by the new Officers—the food analysts. He had to see to the maintenance of the guilds; thoroughly protectionists trades' unions. He had to look after and check the intrusion of the early capitalists and wage finders, the Lombards, now represented in Lombard Street by such men as Lord Wolverton and Sir John Lubbock, who I imagine it would be difficult to get to accept the office of Alderman or Lord Mayor, and who would prefer that the judicial work should be charged, not upon irresponsible persons, who may be in trade, but upon qualified and responsible Stipendiary Magistrates. Of the old, and in former functions of the Alderman none now remain besides justice work, unless it be the sanctioning house and ward rates, which are the subject of much abuse in the collectorships, and which call for remedy and relief which may be expected under unity. If we had had to examine and report on the existing administrative officers, we could hardly have come to any other conclusion than that these were of an office formerly so hardly worked, as to need the service of a deputy, and the deputy and himself obliged to share,

of the *functions* of a proper police fire service for the metropolis. In our report on the water supply of the metropolis we suggested the provision of hydrants for the cleansing of the streets and the adaptation of the police forces as a fire service, to be provided with keys for the hydrants, always ready because always in use. The separate fire brigade engines were then only brought to bear in twenty minutes, when, on the evidence of the chief of the brigade, Mr. Braidwood, to be of effect to protect life or property for more than extension to other houses, relief should be on the spot not later than five minutes from the outbreak. By direct instruction our principle of organisation was applied at Liverpool. It was adopted at Manchester and Glasgow, with the result that the relief was commonly got, on the average, under the constant system of supply, in about three minutes, and that the brigade engines, which in the metropolis are called out in every case, are there only called out in some three per cent. of cases, and that the risks of life and property are one-third those of the metropolis. The cost of the inferior service for the protection of life and property under the brigade service, as administered by the vestral authority the Board of Works, may be shown to be more than £40,000 per annum beyond the cost of the police service which we proposed. Mr. Tozer, the chief of the fire service at Manchester, observes that in London a considerable sum is expended in supporting a salvage corps, but he says 'that in Manchester we do the work with the fire brigade. In fact, in Manchester we hardly know what it is to have a fire requiring the work of salvage. 97 per cent. of our fires are confined to the room in which they occur.'

Examples of gain in provincial forces by unity of the water service with the police service.

From first to last the sacrifice of some 300 lives and a greater number of bodily injuries, and more than 3,000 serious fires may be ascribed as occasioned by the dereliction of administrative principle, to the detriment of the police service.

In the face of these experiences (which I brought before a select committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine the subject) the Board of Works contended that the fire service should be continued with them. The committee decided in effect that they were an unfit body for the purpose, and that it should be charged as an additional and special function on the

but now reduced to justice work—which in urban districts had better be dispensed with—to the mere sanction of heavy, and ill examined local taxation, and the eating of expensive dinners. Some time ago I had an application from an agent of a late Minister of Japan, engaged in the re-organisation of the civil government there, to define the functions of a Lord Mayor and an Alderman. My difficulty was to show what shams they had become.

police service. The Board of Works also claimed to have charge of the water service of the metropolis, and brought forward a plan for the purpose. But the committee, whilst deciding that the water service should be placed on a public footing, rejected the claims of the Board of Works. The case presented an instance of the common conceptions of an administrative organisation of a select body of vestrymen. They could not see the advantage of the service of a force of four thousand men on patrol during the night; nor of an organised force of ten thousand men for occasions of extraordinary conflagrations from design or accident; nor of the economy of doubling the fire service stations by extending the police stations for the purpose. It will be evident that the Government would have been in default, if they had not refused to continue the expenditure of the duties on coal and wine in such hands, and under such conditions of disunity. A late very able officer of our combined commission who continued with the Board of Works, told me that the members were mostly of a class accustomed only to small ways of business, who made a great ado about the expenditure of small sums of a pound or two, while it was frightful to see the lax way in which they were led to expend thousands.

It marks the appreciation of the quality of their service, that, for fear of disfigurements, they are not allowed by Parliament to adopt any architectural elevation in new streets without the approval of the Institute of Architects.* One characteristic of these vestries was their disposition to enter into party political questions, such as the wrongs of the Poles and

* The provision of the means of recreation is one of the highest services that may be rendered by a local authority for self-government, especially when the provision does not interfere with productive labour; and when it contributes to it, as it may do, by properly arranged and attractive exercise grounds for the sedentary adults as well as for children. Except at the greater parks, the arrangements of these kinds of playgrounds are most wretched in the Metropolis. When I was attending as a juror at the Sanitary section of the International Exhibition at Paris in 1865, I was requested by the Society of Arts to observe and report upon anything that might be held forth for adoption in the British Metropolis. One object that struck me particularly was the high and brilliant state of horticulture displayed, not only in the public thoroughfares from one end of Paris to the other, but in the gardens and open spaces in the most obscure quarters; and the arrangements of seats and playgrounds for infants and children and adults, and the happiness there was in their occupation by groups of children under the care of *bonnes*. But all this carrying superior horticultural science and decoration for exercise anywhere and everywhere being done under unity by the highest horticultural and decorative science that could be found, was utterly impracticable under the disunity of the London Vestral Authorities. It would be a great object of unity to gain attention to this subject.

of the Hungarians. We were obliged to remind them that their duties were limited by statute, and that they had no legal authority to enter into such questions. We might, indeed, have called their attention to the crying conditions of greater cruelty and oppression, maintained by their neglect of duty, in respect to the population of their own slums.

On the subject of lighting as a municipal service, in my sanitary report I presented, from the example of Manchester, the advantages to be obtained by placing lighting on a public footing. In the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission we were entering upon this subject, with much promise of sanitary advantages, but further progress was prevented by the obstructive opposition raised and by pre-occupation on other topics. In various towns the example of Manchester has been followed, with gain to the population, but not so much gain either in money or sanitation as they might have obtained by superior scientific aid and supervision. Taking, however, the standards of supplies on a public footing—taking the example of Birmingham—the cost of gas under unity in the metropolis might be, and would have been, reduced from 3s. to 2s. 4d. per 1,000 cubic feet, with a clear profit of £500,000 per annum for carrying on improvement works, as has been done at Manchester; or the price might be reduced to below 2s. per 1,000 cubic feet, leaving a gain of £250,000 per annum in aid of district rates. But such a reduction would largely turn the scale of economy in favour of gas, for cooking and heating as against coal, and aid the diminution of the great smoke nuisance of the metropolis. To this may be added, the production of a cheap smokeless coke for open fires; and, for manufacturers, the extended use of gas instead of steam for power. In Paris, by bringing eight separate companies under unity, the cost of private lights was reduced 30 per cent., and of public lights 40 per cent., with improved receipts to the shareholders; leaving to them, however, the general supply as contractors, and not giving the public much further advantage obtainable by a responsible scientific administration. A recent voluntary amalgamation of the companies in London has been accomplished by themselves, but I cannot judge how far their position as respects the public may be affected by it.

On the subject of the local service of road administration, we entered into some examinations, which, except as to the drainage of rural roads, as a means of facilitating land drainage we were prevented completing. I subsequently advanced it, chiefly in relation to the Metropolitan roads as

On unity in works of lighting on a public footing.

Economies derivable from.

The gains derivable from unity in scientific road administration in the metropolis.

roads, in my position as chairman of a committee of the Society of Arts, with the aid of Captain Douglas Galton and some scientists. The results, which will be found stated at length in our transactions, may be presented as an example of waste and injury inflicted by disunity; parts of a mile of a main line of street being under three different parochial administrations, half of one line of street being divided longitudinally, one half being paved by one parish in one way, and cleansed in its own time and way, and the other part being paved by another parish in its own way, and scavenged in its own time and way. The modes of cleansing frequently made the surface 'greasy' and slippery, and dangerous to cross, and added to the accidents, by which between two and three hundred people are yearly killed, and upwards of three thousand people so seriously injured, as to be taken charge of by the police. On the north-western suburban district there was an example of a district administered under unity, by a scientist, Mr. McAdam. The condition of the roads under unity were stated to be distinguishable from those under disunity, by the fact that you could tell at night when you got on the parish roads by the jolting you received.

Injuries and losses from the administration under disunity.

Examples of the losses occasioned by disunity.

The administration of the roads under unity was formerly sustained by turnpike tolls. There was a movement against turnpikes, and they were got rid of, but with them the trust under unity; so their length of road was returned to disunity; that is to say, to the charge of some twenty parishes and their parish surveyors; with the result of increased cost to the rate-payers and general detriment to the traffic from inferior service. On trials with the dynamometer, at the Society of Arts, the general conclusion was that by unity of administration under a road trust, a saving might be effected of at least one horse out of three, besides a reduction of the sanitary evils of bad cleansing and foul surfaces, complained of as presenting seas of mud in winter and clouds of dust in summer.

Gains derivable from unity in the administration of relief to the destitute in the metropolis.

In Poor Law administration the gain would be very large from unity, a law which was, I know, originally intended, but which was frustrated by Metropolitan members in the interests of the Vestries of the districts they represented. I cannot specify all the improvements in the relief of suffering which may be effected in the metropolis by unity under science; and I will only advert to some points of detail as to the disadvantages of disunity under the vestral administration. Under unity in the supplies of provisions, there would be great gain in quality as well as in price, by superior responsible superintendence.

The various costs of maintenance under the several Vestries has been examined, and it displays wide variations, as for bread, in one place 9s. 4d., in another 16s. 4d. per cwt.; beef, in one place 6s. 5d. per stone, in another place 10s. 2½d.; legs of beef, in one place 2s. 11d. per stone of 14 lbs., in another place as high as 8s. 2d.; bacon, in one place 56s. 3d. per cwt., in another as much as 102s. 8d.; butter, in one place, 72s. per cwt., in another 172s. 8d.; tea, in one place 1s. 2½d. per lb., in another 2s. 4d.; coffee, in one place 105s. per cwt., in another 168s. On the minds of the examiners these variations denoted variations in jobbery. By unity a saving of the retail charges might be effected, and the supplies brought up to the conditions as to quality, as well as economy, to which the supplies of the navy and the army are stated to have been brought owing to due superintendence. As regards the administration of relief, in several of the East-end unions it has been advanced to creditable correctness of principles and practice; whilst in others there have been relapses to grants of relief in aid of wages, out-door relief in money, which it has been well known have gone in payment of the rents of the bad tenements owned by a large part of the guardians, and in expenditure at their shops. Under unity such abuses would be difficult, and the relief would be improved at all points, especially in the relief of the sick, whilst the corrupt influences in large expenditures would be reduced, and the general expenditures be brought down to the level of the best-administered unions, with a reduction of the burthens of the ratepayers to the extent of one-third.

There is a further topic to which I beg to advert, from its bearing upon the question now promisingly raised, on the overcrowding of the poorest of the population—namely, the measures prepared for the discontinuance of the practice of intramural interment. I was charged by the Government to examine the subject, which I did, and made a large collection of experiences. I presented a report, as a supplement to my report of 1842 on the sanitary condition of the labouring population. Under our first General Board of Health we renewed the inquiries, and presented a second report in 1850 as another effort to obtain attention to the subject. The most horrible evil to be dealt with was the prolonged retention of the dead amidst the living in the family's single room; retention for days, and even for weeks, until money could be obtained to defray the expenses of the funeral. Besides the physical evils in the spread of infectious diseases, there were

Improvements and gains derivable from unity in the regulation of interments in the metropolis.

the moral evils of the disrespect for life which it produced and still produces, for it still continues even yet unnoticed. I prepared a plan of an executive machinery such as has been applied beneficially in some of the continental cities for ensuring the presence of an officer of health immediately on the spot, charged to examine the cause as well as the fact of death, and empowered to take order for the immediate removal of the body to a suitable mortuary, to be duly provided; and when the existing causes were removable, to take measures for the protection of the survivors. When the cause was the unsanitary condition of the place, the inquiry would have frequently led to the condemnation of the place as unfit for human habitation. This procedure must have led to the examination annually of the conditions of between twenty and thirty thousand deaths in the metropolis from preventible causes, and ought to have led to some efficient action for relief. It required provision for mortuaries and cemeteries and for services under unity of a character befitting an elevated community, creating impressions of moral influences which now are frittered away in the establishments under the vestral disunity.

Losses from
disunity and
gains from
unity in the
regulation of
interments in
the metropolis

The proper removal of between one and two thousand dead weekly from amidst the living, and their removal with individual care, and their interment with propriety, appeared to be a task which could only be accomplished by a superior executive service under unity of administration, of which there appeared to be then no immediate prospect. I submitted my conclusion in the following terms:—‘I would, in conclusion, beg leave to repeat and represent urgently that Her Majesty’s Government should only set hands to this great work when invested with full powers to effect it completely; for at present there appears to be no alternative between doing it well or ill; between simply shifting the evil from the centre of the populous districts to the suburbs, and deteriorating them; fixing the sites of interments at inconvenient distances, forming numerous, separate, and weak, and yet enormously expensive, establishments; aggravating the expense, and the physical and moral evils of the delay of interment; diminishing the solemnities of sepulture; scattering away the elements of moral and religious improvement, and increasing the duration and sum of the existing evils. There appears to be no distinct or practicable alternative between these results and effecting such a change as, if zealously carried out, will soothe and elevate the feelings of the great bulk of the population, abate the apprehensions of the dying, influence the voluntary adoption of beneficial

changes in the practice of obsequies, occasion an earlier removal of the dead from amidst the living to await interment and ensure the impressiveness of the funeral service, give additional securities against attempts on life, and trustworthy evidence of the fact of death, with the means of advancing the protection of the living against the attacks of disease; and, at a reduced expense, provide in well-arranged national cemeteries places for public monuments, becoming the position of the empire amongst civilised nations.'—(*Report on 'The Practice of Interment in Towns.' Supplement to the Sanitary Report, 1843.*) A second Report was, however, called for from our General Board of Health, and in view of a commencement, a purchase was made of one of the trading companies' cemeteries, but the practical difficulties were found to be so great under the existing conditions of disunity, that further proceedings in that line or amendment were abandoned. Deep-seated evils in it remain as they were, especially the prolonged retention of the dead amidst single-chambered families, who, in many districts, comprise sixty per cent. of the population. The attainment of complete unity in the Metropolitan administration would open up prospects of grievously-needed relief.

Schools are the centres of the children's epidemics. We proposed that they should be regularly visited and examined by a health officer, charged with the duty of removing any child on whom he detected premonitory symptoms of infectious disease, of going with it to its home, of providing for its treatment there; and, when he found the conditions of the place such as to produce the disease, to take steps for having it treated elsewhere. This would often have led to the condemnation of places as unfit for habitation, and it must have carried relief far and wide. In Brussels preventive action against disease from the school is carried out with encouraging success.

Schools as centres of children's epidemics provided for.

The provision for the removal of the horrible evil of the retention of the dead amidst the living in the single-chambered population would, as already stated, have carried sanitary relief in some thirty thousand cases annually; and the provision for following up the cases of the appearance of premonitory symptoms of epidemics, and the physical defects detected in schools, would under unity carry relief far and wide.

Under the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission the subject of the private or intra-mural slaughter houses, their nuisances, their cruelties, and the evils of the cattle being driven through the streets, their waste of material, the fact that about one-third of the carcase from slaughter in the Metropolis, and

Evils of private slaughter houses examined.

mostly in slums, had to be taken out of the Metropolis, the butcher's two-thirds being alone usable for food, all testified to the superiority of extra-mural abattoirs, as at Paris. All these constants, with the prevention of the distribution of diseased meat, were opened up under the special lead of our colleague, Professor Owen. Save the removal of Smithfield market, the more direct benefits of the abattoir system were overruled in the interests of Newgate Market. It left a conviction that every prospect of efficient relief was only obtainable under unity of powers guided by science.

Gains from
unity in pro-
vincial cities
and in
counties.

The principles enunciated, as respects the local government of the metropolis, of unity of the administration, as against disunity of the whole field, are applicable to provincial cities as well as to counties. I had recently to give for Manchester a paper on the defects of its local self-government and on their results. Manchester proper is a parish not larger than a second-rate parish in the metropolis, forming only about one-sixth of the proper field of local administration for the 'greater Manchester'; and I expressed the confident opinion that, under unity, its rates would be considerably reduced, and that the condition of the wage classes of its population would be largely improved. Even if the more scientific officers of the larger board were in default, from their narrower local experiences, the obligation, or the privilege, I may say, of the consultation of the largest central experiences for the sanction of a loan would have effected a saving for Manchester proper of more than a million and a half of the money expended on inferior works, a sum applicable to the improvement of its population, the wage classes, and the reduction of its excessively heavy death-rate. It may be observed, generally, that the obligation to consult the central authority for sanction would be of important advantage, in conformity with the master principle of doing the same thing in the same way, and calling the same thing by the same name.

Fallacies put
forth as to the
metropolis
being the
healthiest city
in the world.

To cover all defaults in sanitation in the metropolis, it is put forth that London is the healthiest metropolis in the world. As compared with those capitals and cities where, in mediæval periods, when sanitary science did not exist, and, under the pressure of war, threefold populations have been heaped in what I have often called perpendicular streets, London may be justly called the *least* unhealthy. But, as compared with our own provincial cities, where the death-rates were higher than those of London, but where, even by the rudimentary sanitary measures, we were enabled to apply the principles of sanitary

science, London is one of the most unhealthy, by at least one-third. The excess of deaths in London above those as yet, in important respects, incomplete standards must be, at the least, I estimate, six in a thousand, an annual excess of full twenty-five thousand per annum, chiefly from diseases of the zymotic class; and an excess in the expenses of funerals and of sickness alone of at least three-quarters of a million of money. The errors of legislation and of administration have clearly made the metropolis, instead of an example to be followed, as it ought to have been, as a seat of science; an example to be avoided in respect to sanitation when compared with those cities where sanitary science had been to the greatest extent applied, on the principles laid down by our first General Board of Health. The recent sanitary improvement effected in the metropolis, for which credit is taken by the Board of Works, will be found to have been carried out not on their lines, but on the lines of the recently appointed body of sanitary inspectors.

The late Lord Mayor is reported to have recently asked, in relation to the measure (the presumed measure) for the unity of the Metropolis, 'What could a man living at Hampstead know about the drainage of Greenwich?' This he appeared to think was decisive against unity, as if it must be a 'unity of ignorance'; and so it might be on his supposition that a man would be a layman acting under the confused impressions prevalent under disunity at Hampstead, under which the man there would usually know as little about the drainage of his own house as he would know about that at Greenwich. But both houses, in systematised unity, would be examined and tested within by an expert, who would detect the dangers to which they are exposed from within, and also from without from the malaria, brought by easterly winds from over the Plumstead or the Essex Marshes, from which influences they would be relieved by drainage works, under unity far superior to the shortcomings under their present disunity. As against the extension to the wage classes of the benefits now derived from occasional indoor examination by a sanitary inspector, the cry may be expected to be raised by the landlords of inferior tenements, against such indoor inspection, that 'every house is the Englishman's castle.' It may be so, but it is a castle without defences against raids and slaughter greater than those of any wars by invisible enemies, the foul air diseases, against which the guards of the palace are proved to be of as little protection as any now given to the cottages, where from twenty to

Central know-
ledge greater
than sectional
local know-
ledge.

thirty thousand are now annually slain in the Metropolis. The effective defence of 'the castle' must now be by sanitation, mainly from within it, by qualified sanitary inspection, which the well-to-do may provide for themselves, but which the poor must have provided for them by unity; and, so far from repelling them, such poor have been proved to welcome them when they got them, and to complain when they did not. It is fair to mention that the health officers of the Corporation have been enabled to contribute to these defences by continuing the practice, which we introduced at the cholera period, of washing with hose and jet the pavements and walls of a number of the courts and alleys.

Statements as
to the sanitary
gains from
unity deduced
from practice.

All the topics recited of the principles of administration for the improvement of the condition of a metropolis or of a city had been deduced from varied experiences, carefully examined, and were expounded in reports presented to Parliament. They have all been confirmed by subsequent varied experiences somewhere or other. They will all, it may be confidently affirmed, have to be adopted in principle, I hope with improvements in detail, for the removal of the vast evils and waste that have been maintained by disunity. But they failed in gaining attention. By the vote obtained under the combination of interests I have described, the continuance of the first General Board of Health was prevented. Instead of rallying against that surprise vote, as might probably have been successfully done; instead of a challenge being given for a statement of the grounds of the vote, and a hearing being claimed for the Board on the allegations made against it, the preparation of a new measure for the local administration of the metropolis was left to the Parliament metropolitan member, who had led the opposition on behalf of his vestry. By his Bill, which was passed, the previous disunity which had been corrected as to drainage, by the consolidation of the one commission under unity in place of the eight separate commissions, was augmented by the distribution of the functions as to the branch drainage to thirty-five vestries, and as to the main drainage to a body of representatives from other vestries.

The categories of the old law against nonfeasance, misfeasance, and malfeasance, which our old judges made realities for the enforcement of official responsibility, may be conveniently used to designate the defaults for which the local administration in the metropolis is impeachable, and the statutory remedies required for the future. They will be found on examination to stand, then, as follow:

The loss from misfeasance of a sum of six millions of money expended on outfall sewers alone, on an erroneous system of combined works generating foul gases that will have to be replaced by others on a correct system—a sum that would have sufficed for the re-drainage of the whole of the metropolis, with cleansing sewers for the whole of the metropolis, and that would have sufficed, moreover, for relieving the greater part, if not the whole, of the ill-drained houses occupied by the poorest of the population; houses which must be re-drained, and put into the improved condition of the common lodging-house.

The money losses from the disunity of the administration in the metropolis recapitulated.

The loss from nonfeasance in the neglect to repair the evils of disunity in the eight separate water companies by placing them under unity on a public footing, as recommended by commission after commission. The accruing money losses from this neglect are estimated by Mr. Quick, jun., C.E., at £372,596 per annum. Added to which are the assignable losses from malfeasance in the conditions of stagnation in butts and cisterns which make good supplies bad and bad supplies worse, conditions of impurity which lead to the habitual excessive use of spirituous liquors and habits of intemperance.

The loss from nonfeasance in not putting the supplies of gas under unity on a public footing, as in provincial cities, by which the price might have been reduced below 2s. per 1,000 cubic feet and a gain of not less than £200,000 per annum in aid of public improvements, as for improved dwellings for the wage classes, might have been effected.

The losses sustained from nonfeasance and misfeasance of upwards of 25,000 deaths, and more than twenty times that amount of cases of sickness; and the money losses, from the expenses of funerals and of cases of sickness, which must be at the rate of upwards of three-quarters of a million per annum.

The losses from malfeasance by the obstruction and prevention of measures prepared and tried under unity for the effacement of all the slums which would have been effected some fifteen years ago.

The losses from malfeasance, or the neglect to adopt the organisation of the fire service on the footing adopted in Liverpool and Glasgow, by placing it in the hands of the police, with the result of about one-third of the losses in the metropolis, losses from three thousand serious fires and three hundred persons burned alive.

The loss by malfeasance in legislation in allowing the disunity of the general police force to be given to the rate expenders of the city, at an expense of some four pounds per

house per annum to the ratepayers for an inferior service, detrimental to the general police service of the metropolis.

The losses from misfeasance and malfeasance and the neglects which the greater number of vestries are allowed to follow the examples of the few more advanced unions in the metropolis, are estimated at one-third of the total amount of the poor rates.

The losses from misfeasance, and often of malfeasance, by reason of the extreme disunity of the road administration, is estimated, on inquiry, at a loss of force of at least one horse out of three, often at the need of two-horse carriages where one would suffice, besides the losses of goods and furniture complained of as from seas of mud in winter and clouds of dust in summer.

The labour of successful preparations dis-couraged.

The measures for their frustration rewarded.

Effect in re-tarding sani-tary progress.

All these losses for the past from ill-regulated local administration may be presented as estimates of the gain derivable in the future from skilfully-devised local unity with responsibility.

It may be noted that when the measure of disunity was passed, agitation ceased; all for a time appeared in Parliament to be working satisfactorily, and the author of the measure, entailing all the evils recited, and more, claimed for what he did, and obtained, a peerage. I really believe that neither he nor the parties by whom he was supported could have been aware of the consequences of their action. If the report presented at that time be now read, it will be seen that an amount of work had been done, and was proposed to be done, of a character to have required the most earnest support. Independent and competent sanitarians have declared that the effect of that vote in the frustration of work that was laboriously prepared to be done—all of which must yet be done in the metropolis—has been to throw back sanitary progress for a quarter of a century at least.

On the full consideration of the possible saving by sanitation for the metropolis if, as I confidently estimate, that that may be done there which has been done in urban districts elsewhere, and which has been also done in districts within itself, by which a reduction may be effected in the death-rate by 5 per 1,000. This will, for the 4,000,000 of population—excluding the suburbs—effect a saving of 20,000 lives annually, and in money—£150,000 per annum for excessive funerals—of £400,000 per annum for excessive sickness, and £200,000 per annum for labour lost to the adults by excessive sickness; or a total saving of £700,000 per annum for excessive sickness. (The present total expenditure for the maintenance of charities—chiefly the hospitals and medical charities—has been estimated

at upwards of £5,000,000 per annum.) The sum of £700,000 per annum capitalised at 30 years' purchase (the period usually allowed for permanent works) would give £21,000,000 sterling, or £50 per house. This, I estimate, would cover the expense of the works required for the complete sanitation of the metropolis. Its entire redrainage is required, and the substitution of the present sewers of deposit, by self-cleansing sewers, by a system of sewers by which all faecal matters would be removed within the day, and before it enters into noxious decomposition. This, according to Sir Robert Rawlinson's estimate, may be effected for about £2,000,000. Two-thirds of the houses of the metropolis are badly drained. For that class of houses, at the Consolidated Sewers Commission, the work was effected at a rate of £6 per house. The expense of the adaptation of the water supply to a constant system, it may be taken, would pay itself with the economies of unity, including, probably, new spring sources and the provision of softened water as at Canterbury. The expense of the subsoil drainage required under the separate system was estimated at 9*d.* per house per annum for the whole area. The expenses of the sewage to the preparation of the land for the application of sewage to agricultural production was estimated at about half a million. Without going into the estimates of the entire expense of the chief sanitary works required, it may be confidently averred that they would be largely covered by the economies of prevention, which are not yet fully examined and estimated. The above calculation means a saving of nineteen to twenty thousand persons constantly sick, and a saving of so many beds; which exceeds the accommodation of all the hospitals and infirmaries in London.*

* By very complete statistical returns Sir James Simpson showed that in the largest hospitals with the highest organisation of curative service the chances of recovery were diminished as compared with the smaller hospitals or of home treatment. These results have been corroborated in France, where it is shown that whilst under the curative service in the hospitals the deaths amount to 10 per cent. of the cases treated—in the smaller establishments or under home treatment they only amount to six per cent.; that whilst in the hospitals the duration of cases of sickness is thirty-six days, in small establishments or under home treatment the duration of sickness is only nineteen days—that whilst in the founding hospitals the deaths of children are from 40 to 50 per cent., under home treatment in the rural districts the deaths do not amount to more than 5 per cent.—*Vide* 'Pauperism and Its Remedies,' by Mons. Barou.

Preparations for Unity in Legislation by Improved and Administrative Parliamentary Procedure.

The late Prince Consort once said, on the occasion of lesser political emergencies than have recently occurred, that Parliamentary government was on its trial. The events of the last two sessions will have shown to impartial observers in our Colonies and on the Continent that the result is in the way of condemnation for incapacity for the work of legislation. The Premier has invited attention and support to remedies for the improvement of Parliamentary procedure. From having been engaged in the preparation of several large measures of legislation, I would offer a statement of some experiences and observations of my own.

Experienced public officers of departments who read what I have proposed for unity in administration may regard it as hopeless of attainment in the present state of Parliamentary procedure, and such attainment would indeed be far distant unless that practice is improved, as it may be, materially. The first cause of distraction and obstruction is the practice at the opening of the Session of shooting out, as it were, upon the members cartloads of reports and documents, without arrangement, order, or method, so as to distract and destroy attention, to overcrowd works of the most important permanent interest to the public, by others, the most numerous, relating to measures of an inferior and temporary character. I beg to cite two examples of my own experience as a sufferer from the distraction of attention and the frustration of labour, under the conditions of the existing practice. One was of our first report on the commission of inquiry into the local constabulary, and on the organisation of a police force for the whole country. My colleagues were Colonel (afterwards Sir) Charles Rowan, the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police Force; and Mr. Charles Shaw-Lefevre (now Lord Eversley), who left us on becoming Speaker. The draft had cost me some years, I may say, of study, and nearly a year in putting together the subsequent experiences we had collected. It so far pleased my colleague that he said he considered I ought to have at least a thousand a year as compensation for my

Obstructing
the legislation
by want of
preparation
for the infor-
mation of
members.

Examples of
the loss of the
labour of pre-
paration and
of individual,
as well as of
public, injury
by the dis-
traction of
members'
attention.

labour upon it.* Mr. Murray, the publisher, considered it to be of so much interest that he said he thought of reprinting it for the general public circulation. It might have been expected that members, especially county members, would have had a strong interest in a subject so deeply concerning the local administration of their counties;— but we scarcely met with an instance of one who had read it, and it may be said to have been smothered and destroyed by the pressure of inferior and temporary subjects. A permissive measure of a fragmentary character of disunity was afterwards passed; and the large principles of organisation of a preventive force remain yet to be applied, especially those for the prevention of the increasing evil of vagrancy, and those for the economy of military force. Sir Charles Rowan was so much offended by the want of due consultation, and the neglect with which he considered we had been treated, that he declared he would concern himself no more with the work of that commission; I might if I chose, but he would not. Large collections of experiences on the prevention of crime yet wait for combination on a chance of attention being gained to them. Let me submit another example of frustrated labour. It was in the report on extra-mural interment, which I have mentioned as providing for the immediate removal of the dead from amidst the living, and for searching remedies against overcrowding, to which attention has at last been fortunately obtained. That report had the high approval of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Bishop of London (Bloomfield), and Bishop Copplestone. Charles Dickens declared our reports dealing with that subject were ‘an honour to human nature.’ But we did not hear of their being read by a single member of Parliament, or any concern whatsoever being manifested in Parliament upon them. A subsequent measure was passed—a measure of disunity that broke the whole scheme into fragments, and frustrated the most important principles of relief. One portion of it dealt with the great moral as well as sanitary evils of the prolonged retention of the dead amidst the living in over-crowded rooms. That, and other important subject matters of that first report, will have still to be considered whenever the default of local administrative disunity is perceived and provided for. In treating of what is designated ‘the Poor Law Amendment Act,’ which the Premier recently designated as

* It is commonly imagined that the several Commissions must have been a source of emolument to me. The fact is that I only received travelling expenses, and never payment for one of them, nor any recognition in respect to the results obtained from any of them.

perhaps the greatest reform of this century,' it is stated in the memoirs of Sir Denis Le Marchant that it was carried by the convictions produced by the report. And it was so—but it was so by the special means we took to rescue it from the common conditions of inattention. We had it printed, for the first time, in the convenient octavo form, and circulated in that form to the members of both Houses of Parliament; moreover, we distributed eight thousand to the local authorities interested in it; we likewise had some printed for sale at a cheap rate, indeed about ten thousand copies were sold. The Government, who having only the usual official sources of information, and unaware of the effect of what we had done to obtain public attention, could only rely upon some eighty supporters, and had determined to go out upon the measure, were surprised at carrying it by 319 against 20

The first report of the 'Metropolitan Sanitary Commission' in 1848, contained evidences of the foremost importance in sanitary principle, especially for dealing with the cholera, then apprehended, and measures for the relief of the metropolis passed without any attention. I do not know of an instance of any metropolitan member who had been at the trouble to read it, and yet the measures which it proposed are to be revived as new and primary measures for the effectual relief of the metropolis at this present time.

It fell to me to have the main preparation of five measures commended to the attention of Parliament in speeches from the throne; to one satisfactory attention was gained, as stated; to another partial attention; but for the rest the evils which they provided against were neglected and remain much as they were. The conditions of the Parliamentary procedure chiefly dissipate and destroy the attention of ministers—of the most able ministers—to large measures. The private secretary of an able prime minister, told me that he would in the distraction and disorder of affairs defy the mastery, by his chief, of any new measure of considerable importance. The description which Sir Henry Taylor, who had had long experience in the Colonial Department, gives of the conditions of a minister, still continues in its main features.

'Every day, every hour, has its exigencies, its immediate demands, and he who has hardly time to eat his meals, cannot be expected to occupy himself in divining good for mankind. "I am," says Mr. Landor's statesman, "a waiter at a tavern where every hour is dinner time, and pick a bone upon a silver dish." The current compulsory business he gets through as he

Example of
remedy.

Previous
promulgation
of subject
matters of
legislation.

Losses from
the distraction
of the atten-
tion of the
Prime
Minister.

may ; some is undone, some is ill done, but at least to get it done is an object which he proposes to himself. But as to the inventive and suggestive portions of a statesman's business, he would think himself a Utopian dreamer if he undertook them in any other way than through a reconstitution and reform of his establishments.' 'One who with competent knowledge should consider well the number and magnitude of those measures which are postponed for years or totally pretermitted, not for want of practicability, but for want of time and thought ; one who should proceed with such knowledge to consider the great means and appliances of wisdom which lie scattered through this intellectual country ;—squandered upon individual purposes, not for want of applicability to national ones, but for want of being brought together and directed ; one who, surveying these things with a heart capable of a people's joys and sorrows, their happy virtue or miserable guilt on these things dependent, should duly estimate the abundant means unemployed, these exalted ends unaccomplished—could not choose I think, but say within himself, that there must be something fatally amiss in the very idea of statesmanship on which our system of administration is based.'

In 1859 I wrote a paper read at the Law Amendment Society on the chief methods of the preparation of large measures for legislation, by the close cabinet method, that of a Parliamentary Committee ; and that of a well approved commission ; in which I vindicated the superiority of the method of the Poor Law Commission for gaining attention outside, as well inside Parliament. On that occasion I had the strong support of the principle of Sir James Stephen of the Colonial Office in a brilliant speech, and also of Sir J. Lefevre, Sir Edward Ryan and Mr. Frederic Hill, our most distinguished permanent officers of departments. At this time, I have increased confidence in the power of relief obtainable, by attention to the experiences, of scientific bodies, especially in saving the extensive wreckage, in the manner, I have described, of large measures of remedial legislation.

In the first place, it is submitted as due to the members of the Legislature that they should have information supplied to them, and then adequate facilities for reading, consulting, and preparation systematically provided for them. In this view, in 1875, I submitted, as a measure, that all the Parliamentary expenditure should be made up and circulated to the members three months before the meeting of Parliament, together with the legislative reports which it is intended to submit—save, of

Official supporters of preparation by commission and by promulgation of results previous to the meeting of Parliament.

Practical
examples of
previous
promulgation
in the United
States and in
France.

Previous
printing and
promulgation
of expositions.

course, measures of extraordinary urgency—these last being preceded by authoritative statements, directing attention to the special measures needed. For the Legislature of France, special addresses precede the work of the session, directing attention to the measures intended to be submitted. Expositions of the position of the Republic, which are often masterly productions of first-rate interest, precede the opening of the Parliament. The President of the United States, on the opening of the Congress, presents reports from the heads of the chief departments of the State, which display their condition and their needs. I know from experience with some reports and papers which we did manage to circulate, that during the recess a great deal of valuable reading is to be got done, both by legislators and the public. By this preparatory circulation, the constant complaints of surprises and outeries for delay for due consideration would be obviated. In the actual discussions much time would be saved by doing more by print and less by speech, by adopting the useful practice of scientific bodies, such as the Association for the Promotion of Social Science. For more than a quarter of a century there has been an orderly distribution of subject matters of discussion, amongst what are the equivalents of grand committees arranged by the Council before every Congress, as committees on Jurisprudence, Education, Health, Economy, Trade, and Art. When special questions have arisen that do not come within these categories, special preparations have been made for them. The discussion of the papers read at the Society of Arts, on the railway question, the purchase of the telegraphs by the State, it will be acknowledged exceed in power and interest any discussions held on these questions in Parliament. With such preparation the discussion in the congresses are far in advance of those in Parliament, and the transactions have a wide circulation in the Colonies and in America---where questions are discussed on the reading of printed papers. If the member have a feeble voice, or be unaccustomed to address large meetings, his paper may be read for him by the secretary or by a substitute. Proofs are usually accessible to members before the meeting. If I am interested in the subject, I may obtain a proof and read it; and if I am unable to attend the meeting, I may write my observations upon it, which will be read to the meeting, and may be inserted in the Transactions. At the Academy of Moral and Political Science of the Institute of France, all the greatest orators read their speeches. In Parliament expository statements for second readings might be printed

and sent round to the members in the morning or the day before, and observations upon them invited. At night the mover might say, 'Hon. members have had the exposition of this measure before them, and I need not occupy time by reading it, but shall be ready to answer any observations that may be made upon it.' In this way hours of time would be saved, expositions of important measures made after midnight to a few members, and imperfectly reported, would be obviated, and the whole work would be better done.

An old friend, a very intelligent member of the House of Commons, who never got an opportunity of speaking in a debate, took pains to calculate the value of time in the Commons, and he made it to be five guineas a minute. But this was a quarter of a century ago, and the actual expenditure on time before some committees on important private bills is stated to be now actually more than that. Mr. Chamberlain is reported to have occupied three hours and forty minutes in his exposition of the Merchant Shipping Bill. If it had been circulated in print in the morning every member might have read it attentively, and in about a third of that time have mastered it better than he could usually have done in hearing it. Explanatory documents might have been appended to it, and circulated with it, in a more matured and complete form for the press. Time of the public value of some thousand pounds would have been saved for other measures needed, and the right hon. member would have come to hear objections better considered than at present, or that might have been sent to him in writing and printed and circulated also if chosen. The practice of reading written speeches is advancing. The House of Lords, as essentially a judicial body, is entitled specially to what is approximate to judicial preparation for deliberation. At the opening of the International Congress on health and education, the Duke of Richmond read a written speech, and the Duke of Cambridge read in answer a written speech. The orations of Demosthenes, it is made out, were really spoken pamphlets.

Value of time
in the House
of Commons.

It would greatly facilitate the passing of the Government measures if the practice of France were adopted of allowing an officer of the department to be present, and to have for the occasion a seat in the House, to give the requisite explanations or answer objections. The political chief of the department can rarely master all the details of a measure to give answers upon them, and is sometimes led to answer according to his conception of the intent of it, which is frequently erroneous.

Moreover, his answers are seldom as satisfactory as those of the permanent officer would be.

Written questions only to be permitted.

In a recent work, 'Practical Essays,' by Dr. Alex. Bain, in one essay on the 'Procedure of Deliberative Assemblies,' will be found more full illustrations of the principles of amendment of doing more work by print and less by speech. No member should be allowed to occupy time in the House by asking a question until he has sent it in writing to the department to which it relates, and has received from it a written answer. The question and the answer, might, if he chose, be printed in the votes without occupying the time of the House with them. Written answers from the departments would be preferable to *vivâ voce* answers by the chief, who having hastily to get up the case is frequently, in consequence inexact in the answers he gives.* By such arrangements, those members to whom I have spoken on the subject agree that improvement might be made, befitting a supreme deliberative assembly, and, as I conceive, a preparation be made for the treatment of the greater question of higher legislation under unity.

Degradation of departmental reports by neglect of them.

The arrangements which conduce to an increased attention to Parliamentary reports and documents will materially conduce to the improvement of the quality of the departmental reports. A most serious evil of the bad Parliamentary procedure is the degradation of the Parliamentary reports from the great departments into mere catalogues, generally compiled by clerks, and signed by changing political chiefs, who often cannot have read them; and this is done from the conviction that the reports will not be read or attended to, and that the labour of preparation by the permanent chiefs of departments will be thrown away upon the subjects of those reports. The drafts of the late Sir James Stephen, one of the greatest writers of modern English, would have been of great interest and power for the Colonies, whilst those of the late Mr. James Mill, of Mr. J. Stuart Mill, and of Mr. Peacock of the India Office, the highest State papers of the period, that have been lost would have strengthened our hold on the Indian population and have gained us the respect of Europe, Sir Rowland Hill's reports

Position of official civil servants for legislative improvement.

* A distinguished statesman, writing to me on the above suggestion, observes: 'This would diminish the practical inconvenience resulting (in the absence of a limited number of official seats in both Houses) from the necessity of limiting all political offices to members of one or other House, and of requiring the immediate resignation of any minister who happens to have been defeated at an election, however large the majority of his party in the House of Commons may be, and however high the estimation in which he is held by the country generally.'

for the Postal Department, and of Mr. Godley for the War Department, issued with their own names, with the expression of the sanction of their chiefs, would have augmented the confidence of the public, and advanced the power of unity in the government of Europe.

I beg to take the opportunity of citing, in justification of the respect and attention due to my respected and admired colleagues of the Civil Service, the following independent testimony of the great author of the *Principles of Morals and Legislation*. He observed :

‘Means as well as motives are wanted for the progress of legislative as well as of other science. The means or instruments for the creation of legislative science are the same as those of other sciences, namely experience, experiment, and observation. The officers of the Civil Service Departments, are in the best position to acquire experience and to make observations. They may not make experiments, but the various empirical measures which are from time to time passed by the legislature, serve to a greater extent than might at first be supposed, as experiments of their results when strictly examined and duly recorded. The best answers to communistic and socialistic schemes would be a full and fair recordation of those which have been tried.

Neglect and discouragement of permanent civil officers.

‘There is often an instinctive jealousy of such labour, and the merit connected with it, on the part of the classes adverted to, as being above them. They are jealous to keep to themselves, as a privilege, legislation without obligation to the labour necessary for it. But that may not now be. The proclamation that legislation is to be performed without special aptitude, and without labour, that only common sense is requisite for it, proclaims it as a basis of universal suffrage for giving the initiation of legislation to the uninformed, and the ignorant, which means the misinformed, and is of a most dangerous and levelling tendency.’

I should be prepared to maintain publicly the necessity of giving every encouragement to the eminent improvers of the Civil Service, who are in office, as a means of efficient and safe progress,—good in itself for the improvement it achieves, but good also and most necessary for the mischief it prevents.

*The Advantages in Local and Sanitary Administration,
of Unity over Disunity.*

No subject can be more worthy of the serious attention of educated and thoughtful persons than that of the saving of life, which may be effected by improved sanitation, and the saving in local taxation, which may be effected by *unity* as against *disunity* in Local Government.

By the improved administration of the Poor Laws, 16,500 parishes, chiefly under unpaid overseers, have been united into 660 unions, employing 17,000 paid officers under central control, the rates have been diminished, the local burdens on real property have been reduced by nearly one-third, and but for this great administrative reform, the poor's rates, which are now eight millions, would now have been more than twelve millions. It is therefore submitted that, under more complete unity, far greater relief could be obtained from local burdens than by any shifting of burdens, and that this relief would be obtained chiefly by changing the modes of administration from the worst mode—that of England—to the best mode—that of Ireland, that is to say, under more of local unity. But this requires assured knowledge of administrative principle, which experience shows does not commonly exist, and is of slow and difficult acquisition.

Extent of
reduction
local rates by
paid service
under unity, as
compared with
the expense of
unpaid service
under
disunity.

Greater gain
practicable by
administrative
improvement
than by
shifting local
burdens.

Wastefulness
in local ad-
ministration
of ignorance
and low
qualification of
officers.

At the outset of the New Poor Law the appointments of paid officers were denounced throughout the country as mere jobs burdensome to the country, whilst the services of the unpaid parish officers, overseers, and churchwardens were to be had *gratis*. Now, it should be borne in mind that the services of these same 17,000 paid officers, imperfect as I know much of those services to be—from obstruction and dereliction of administrative principle, have, nevertheless, produced the economy of full four millions per annum as against those of the 'unpaid parish officers,'—which economy might and should nevertheless be six millions, with a further improved and yet more humane administration. I have stated also that in two specimen counties the expenses of the paid county police

forces were proved to be less than the expenses of the unpaid parish constables. In local administration there is generally nothing so burdensome as ignorance and low qualifications in officers. To obtain the further practical economy of three millions in Poor-law administration it would be requisite to have an augmented force of qualified paid officers as well as increased allowances for retiring officers. Much of the unproductiveness of existing local expenditure is due to the centralisation caused directly to Parliament, and to the unpaid and unqualified committees which I have described. It is due to such action as I have described that the Metropolis has been subjected to a burden of upwards of six millions for an ignorant and mistaken system of sewerage, while a correct system would have effected the result completely for less than two millions; that it has also been subjected to a double charge for the Embankment, which might have been constructed without coffer dams at half the cost. I might adduce similar examples of waste in most of the chief cities in the kingdom, whilst the enormous burdens of excessive sickness and mortality that are reducible by sanitation, *i.e.*, by effective expenditure for the repair or the removal of bad works, of while the above are examples of waste by irresponsible rate expenders—passed without examination or forewarning to the ratepayers. The burden of lost labour, of excessive mortality, and of excessive funerals from preventible causes, were largely under-estimated in 1842 at two millions per annum in the Metropolis. For England and Wales those same local burdens of lost labour and excessive sickness may now be estimated at upwards of twenty-five millions pounds per annum, or three times the amount of the poors' rates, and THEY now form the largest and the most profitable source for the practical reduction of local burdens. As an example, the cost of the excessive death-rate of a slum—forty in a thousand, all of which is borne by the rates—will be found to exceed the cost of efficient works of prevention.*

Examples in
the Metropolis.

Local burdens
of bad sanitation
four times
greater than
the burden of
poors' rates.

* Sir James Paget, in his inaugural address at the International Health Conference, has presented an important estimate of the loss of labour by the wage classes, from excessive sickness, at twenty millions of weeks per annum. This result was obtained from the actual returns from large friendly benefit societies, and is doubtless correct so far as they go; but members of benefit societies are generally comparatively select lives. My data were from the mortality tables: that every death denoted twenty cases of sickness; and every fifth case of sickness, that of an adult, and the loss to him of two and a half weeks' wages, or £2. 10s. My estimate includes, besides the lost labour, the cost of excessive infantile sickness and mortality; and the cost of the excessive number of funerals accompanying excessive death rates. I believe it will be found to be an under-estimate of the total loss.

At Croydon and other towns, where by rudimentary sanitary works the death-rates have been reduced by more than one-third, the taxes for the payment of loans that may have been raised for the payment of works—are in fact less burdens than the means of relief from burdens. Subventions given under the more common conditions of local administration are subventions that cover and sustain waste, whilst subventions in aid of effective sanitary works are properly administered—grants for the reduction of the greatest local burdens.

Examples of the Progress of Sanitation under Unity in the Military Service as compared with the Death Rates of Disunity in the Civil Service.

At the commencement of my investigations, as to the means of preventing excessive sickness and premature mortality amongst the civil population, I was perplexed by the uncertainties incident to reasonings from small groups of cases arising in private medical practice, beset as I found them by the idiosyncracies of different ages, occupations, and conditions, and I found it necessary to look especially to the diseases prevalent amongst persons of the like ages, and conditions, as to places, lodging, food, clothing, occupations, and climates, amongst whom the operation of common causes would be more clearly distinguished and recorded;—that is to say, amongst the army and the navy. For the sake of the civil service as well as of the military service, I had to study the experiences of the great sanitarian, Sir John Pringle, in our campaigns in Flanders, especially as to the evidence of bad camping-grounds, undrained sites, which I believe yet remain as they were then for want of an administrative organisation, for the protection of the population living upon them and for the prevention of the waste of life, as well as of production. I also personally consulted the late Sir James McGrigor, the chief of the army medical service, and got from him sanitary experiences obtained during the Peninsular campaign; and that from the heavy losses sustained at the commencement from the want of sanitary science, that towards the end of the war, on the occupation of a town, and for the saving of force, extraordinary labour was immediately taken for the cleansing of the town and the houses; old dung heaps were removed, chimneys were made for the houses occupied by the troops; holes were knocked in the walls for the ventilation. The old towns were put in a state of health that they had never

been in their lives or their first existences before; but after our army had left—for want of any organisation for the maintenance of sanitary science for the protection of the people—fell back into the common conditions of filth and disease, such as render the assumed health-resorts of France, as well as of Italy, dangerous to visitors, from the want of competent sanitary organisation. I may note that from experience of the losses occasioned by the insalubrity of sites, the duke became a good sanitarian, and was often as much governed by sanitary as by strategical considerations in the positions taken up. By the choice of a good sanitary site, on the high lines of Torres Vedras, he kept his adversary in a low and bad one, and inflicted greater loss by disease than could have been inflicted by the sword, and obliged him to retreat.

It is due to state that my enumeration of the principles of sanitary or preventive science, and the effect of localising causes on sickness and death, it will be found was made in an article in the *Westminster Review* in 1829. It was kept in view in my report in 1832 on Poor-law administration, as a branch of prevention. It was more completely developed in my report of the sanitary condition of the labouring population of 1842. In my reports I cited instances of important sanitary improvements, initiated by army medical officers of the curative service. As early as 1853 valuable collateral service in army sanitation appears to have been rendered by Mr. Balfour and Mr. Tulloch of the army curative service, chiefly as to details as to dietaries and clothing, but it was followed out most effectually, for the reduction of death rates by the commission for the improvement of barracks and hospitals, comprising eminent specialists as sanitary engineers. There has, however, been from first to last no effective preventive organisation, such as I have proposed for preventive sanitary service, for civil as well as military service, distinct from the curative service or the medical service. How the efforts recited were made did not appear, but they were not systematic, and had no systematic organisation, and had no continuance; or, if they had, the experience gained by Sir John Pringle in Flanders would have prevented the first losses of force sustained by our army in the Peninsular. If, later on, there had been a preventive organisation the experiences in the Peninsular would have averted the disaster that befell the first army in the Crimea; and lastly, a distinct sanitary organisation would have averted the loss that befell our army in Egypt; when, if the campaign, instead of being a short one, had been a long, there was every

appearance to impartial persons that there might have been a further repetition of the disaster of the first army in the Crimea. It may be seen by sanitarians from the army medical reports, and the catalogued statistics of sickness and deaths, and losses of force from diseases which sanitarians well know to be preventible, that the service continues to be mainly curative, and largely inadequate.

I have not failed, however, to avail myself of any opportunity that presented itself of making representations, for the application of distinct sanitary service, however partial or temporary it might be, and I did so with a view to the effect of sanitary progress on the civil as well as the military service.

On the declaration of the war against Russia, I went to Mr. Hawes, the Under Secretary of War, who was a friend of mine, to suggest the expediency of some provision of a sanitary service, when I was met by his assurance in general terms, that the arrangements for the army were complete and perfect. I had then no position to claim to examine them. After the disaster that befel the army from the absence, as was evident to me, of any properly organised sanitary or preventive service, and the break down of the curative service, I got an interview with Lord Palmerston, and represented to him the necessity of the provision of a special sanitary service for further protection. He asked me to make my suggestions to him in writing, which I did, though somewhat hurriedly. I believe that he received independent representations at the same time from Lord Shaftesbury, who from his important service on our general Board of Health had an intimate knowledge of our staff, got named three of our efficient sanitary inspectors—Dr. John Sutherland, Dr. H. Gavin, and Mr. (now Sir) Robert Rawlinson—as sanitary commissioners, with full powers for the direction of sanitary measures. Dr. Gavin was killed by accident. At the conclusion of the war, the war minister declared in Parliament that this second army had been saved by sanitary science, and that it had been returned in a better state of health than it had at home. But no distinct adequate organisation of a preventive service followed the great demonstration of its efficiency and need. The officers who had rendered the extraordinary services instead of receiving appropriate acknowledgements and reserved as a nucleus for a preventive service, were simply let go; whilst those by whose failure the great loss of the first army occurred, were decorated. From returned medical officers from India whom I examined for the preparation against the coming cholera, I had been made acquainted with much of the condition of Indian army

Initiation of
Sanitary
Science for the
Army.

and what might be done there by application of sanitary service. I felt constrained to make a public appeal in its behalf by a paper which I read at the Social Science Congress at its meeting at Liverpool in 1858, urging that the experience of the effects of sanitary science in the Crimea should be applied for the protection of the army in India. I afterwards in that year made urgent applications to Lord Stanley, now Lord Derby, then Colonial Secretary, and I received from him assurances that he would not "fail to give the attention which the importance of the subject deserves." I wrote again to remind him, and on May the 1st, 1858, I received from him a letter in which he said: "I feel the importance of the sanitary inquiry to which your letter refers so strongly that I have advised Her Majesty to appoint a commission to inquire into the condition of Indian regiments of the Indian army in that respect. Of that commission Mr. S. Herbert will be chairman, and it will be commenced immediately." Mr. Sidney Herbert was, I believe, unacquainted with the subject, but I am aware that Miss Nightingale, who was an intimate friend of Mr. Herbert, would impart such information to him, and as led to the appointment of Dr. Sutherland and Mr. Rawlinson on a committee, composed of army staff officers, as led to the infusion of sanitary principles into the Indian Army administration, and through a barrack and hospital commission (on which Captain Douglas Galton served) were productive of very important results, for the Home as well as for the Indian army. In India the results were aided by lay officers who gave special attention to sanitation as well as by medical officers in India. Retired medical officers from those who went out, with the exposition of sanitary principles, in my report of 1842, and other papers have recently given highly satisfactory testimony from their experiences of the efficacy of the principles. The results even of the fragmentary and imperfect administrative organisation then made, are of the highest importance, and, weakened and impaired as they now are, with increasing needs of systematised extension. The old death-rate in the Indian Army was 69 per 1,000. During the last decade it has been reduced to less than one-third, or 20 per 1,000. From the results which I have obtained from Professor de Chaumont of the army Medical School at Netley, the saving, taking it in money value, at about £100 per man—and it is really more than that—being a saving during the decade of upwards of £5,000,000. The loss of men in war by the military service in the same decade was under 1,000,—not, of

Examples in
the Indian
army sanitary
service.

course, counting the additional loss from disease arising out of active service. The gain in force by sanitation was, therefore, as much in one year as the loss of force in the military service for the whole decade. Such facts display the superiority of the position of the sanitary service, as compared with the military service for increasing as well as maintaining force. As a rule, the ordinary military service of itself keeps the hospitals full. Ordinary curative science does not empty them. But from the returns furnished by my distinguished colleague, Professor de Chaumont, it appears that sanitary science has emptied hospitals at home to the extent of nearly one-half of the previous accustomed rates, and the like has been done by sanitary progress with the civil hospitals. But we sanitarians, looking at the continued preventible causes of death, are well aware that in respect to the Indian Army, a further reduction to the extent of one-half of the existing deaths is obtainable by further sanitation with a proportionate saving of money, through an increase of special sanitary organisation of due official force and position. If the present two special sanitary officers were to retire, and it were given to me to appoint successors, I should really be perplexed how to do so with confidence; there being no organisation to provide succession of preventive practitioners to effect this greater economy of force through a special sanitary service as there is for the military service, now of higher recognised position, although, as will be found, of inferior economy of force and of money. In India, where special sanitary service is more needed for the relief of the excessively death-rated civil and urban populations (in some cases upwards of 40 per thousand), such service is of corresponding importance for the drainage of land in order to fit it for occupation as well as for culture. The common courses of medical instruction, as may be seen by the annual programmes, is directed solely to the curative bed-side services, with its supplies from the medical chest or from the apothecary, whilst there is scarcely a glimpse of instruction to the greater preventive sanitary service, which has regard to the construction of the building, its drainage and ventilation, and to the outside of the building and the condition of the camping ground, the tenting, the housing by the services of the specialist, the sanitary engineer. The curative service, acts by the diagnosis of the individual. The preventive service acts by diagnoses, as it were, of the condition of a town by the condition of its circulating system of drainage;—in its disorder or stagnation; by the drainage of the houses and the town; and the absence of foul smells, and the wholesomeness of its secretions as seen at the outfalls of the system.

Saving of
money by army
sanitation.

Germany appears to have profited earlier than our army administration did, or has yet done, by the lesson in sanitary science given by our sanitary officers with the second army in the Crimea, when the death rate was reduced to about 6 in a thousand. The greatest advance and displays of power in the application of sanitary principles appears to have been made by the sanitary service of the German army. Professor Sormani, of Pavia, presented to the Sanitary Congress at Geneva, a paper representing the results of a careful examination of the mortality in the different armies of Europe, from which it appeared that the death-rate in the German army had been brought down to 5 per thousand; whilst it was in England (in the home army) 8 per thousand—in France 10 per thousand—in Austria 11 per thousand. As against England the sanitary science of Germany now achieves for its army of 1,800,000 men a gain of 3 per thousand, and as against France 4 per thousand, and as against Austria 5 per thousand. Sanitary science now (at 5 in a thousand), as compared with our death rate at 8 in a thousand, saves for the German army numbering 1,800,000, 14,400 men annually, or, at the French death rate, of 10 per 1,000—sanitary science under unity—gains for Germany no less than 18,000 men every year, including the saving in sickness as well as mortality. In two years, therefore, sanitary science has repaired for Germany all the loss of the killed in battle during the French war. Comparing the death rate which sanitary science now gives to us, of 8 per 1,000, against the old rate of 18 per 1,000 (and we have now 6 per 1,000 in the Guards as against the old rate of 20)—we now save 4,040 beds that would have been constantly occupied. But if our death rate were lowered, as it might and ought to be by a more effective army sanitary administration to the German rate of 5 per 1,000, we should save still further 1,350 beds, or equal to two Herbert hospitals. If we take the German army at a million in time of peace, it saves—beyond our laggard death rate of 8 per 1,000—14,800 beds, or about 22 Herbert hospitals, or about 16 Netley hospitals, but—at the death-rate of 10 per 1,000 of the French army—Germany has a saving of 24,660 beds, or about 26 hospitals of the size of Netley. As Professor de Chaumont observes: 'It is not merely the expense of these beds which sanitary science saves Germany, but the work of 26,500 men is preserved to the nation. If each of those men earned only 10s. per week, its saving must amount to £650,000 a year.' Yet even in that German army, with its death rate of 5 in a thousand, we find preventible causes for a further gain of force and money.

Example of the power of sanitation in the German army.

Comparative gain of force by sanitation to the German army.

Loss of life under disunity in civil life in Germany as compared with the gain under unity in the military service.

But whilst Germany presents this example of the advance of sanitary science under unity, it at the same time presents the example of the depression of a civil population under disunity; for in Germany the civil death rate is in excess of the death rate of England, which at 20 in a thousand is in excess by one-third. The death rate of the civil population of Germany is 27 in a thousand. At the military ages the civil death rates in Germany would be about 12 in a thousand, and every civilian going into the army would, at that rate, gain in the duration of life more than the time occupied in the military service. For the civil population of Berlin a plan of sanitation has been adopted on much the same system, precisely the same as that we proposed for London;—but it appears to be slow in execution, and does not appear yet to have reduced the death rates to that extent it ought to have done. Good plans have been adopted for Dantzic, and other cities, with important results; but the general civil population appear to be left in the condition denoted by the heavy death rates. A prominent State measure is now proposed for provision of State allowances for the relief of premature disability, which such applications of sanitary science to the civil population as are displayed in the army would largely reduce. In vindication of the power of our science, it is proper to observe that in former fever-nests, and with children of an inferior type in the district half-time schools, we have reduced the death rates to nearly one third of those of the outside population, or less than 3 per 1,000 to those brought in without developed disease upon them. The same sanitary science has reduced the death rates of the prisons, the former fever nests, to 3 per 1,000, that is of deaths of spontaneous origin within them.

It is to be noted that the results obtained by the advance of sanitation in the reduction of the military hospitals or curative service, are illustrative of the results that will attend the advance of sanitation in the reduction of the number of the beds of civil hospitals.

Loss in England in civil life under disunity as compared with the gain in the military service under unity.

Our statistical data for estimating the power of sanitation in saving productive force, and of money, in the civil service is not so clear as it is for the military service. During the last decade, however, there has been an increase of local sanitary force of increased numbers of local officers of health, and of sanitary inspectors, whose services have been directed chiefly against scattered nuisances, not yet against large extents of ill-drained houses, or against sewers of deposit, which in the metropolis are to the extent of some thousand miles. The aggregate results

throughout the country chiefly due to this service, are thus spoken of by the Registrar-General, 'There is nothing in the series of annual reports issued in this office that comes out more distinctly and unmistakeably than the wonderful effect which the sanitary operations of the last decade have had in saving life.' He then shows that the saved life during the decade was 392,000, which would operate to a reduction of upwards of £4,000,000 of expenditure, or of the local burdens, chiefly on the poor rates of the excess of funerals, of sickness, and of lost labour during the decade. On an examination of the particulars, they will be found to be confirmatory of what has been stated to be capable of accomplishment under unity and improved organisation, for the reduction of the great annual burden of the death rates now inflicted by defective local organisation and disunity.

If the annual cost of unsanitary conditions were really fully known by the Government, or understood by Parliament, there would be found, in a spirit of solely commercial economy, —the need of superior and extended skilled applications of sanitary science. Of the disunity and the absence of sanitary science, an example may be presented in the very seat of the Government, where, on the Government Offices on which there has been an expenditure of £3,000,000, has been expended on conditions under which there have been deaths from fever; and on which the minister occupying some of them declared in Parliament that he found the air so bad that he felt compelled to do as much work as he could at home, conditions chiefly arising much from want of sanitary science, which declares that large rooms, unventilated, are reservoirs of impurity. We have another recent instance of an immense expenditure on the law courts, which judges declare they cannot occupy, from the overcrowding and bad ventilation. An examination of the money losses and sufferings sustained must lead to the perception of the economy to be obtained from distinct administrative organisation under a minister of health.

Need of increased force for economical sanitation.

To resume, so far. It will appear, on examination, that the burden of local taxation, occasioned by the maintenance of the lethality of the conditions of local administration, have not been less than £25,000,000, *i.e.*, not less than three times the amount of the poor's rate—involving an average loss to the wage classes of from eight to ten years of vitality. The power of sanitation to deal with it as displayed in the recent partial reductions have given a general augmentation of upwards of two years of vitality, or one-fifth of what is eventually obtainable for them. When a

Continued loss of force by inferior sanitation, resulting from inferior administrative organisation.

change is made from their common lethal condition of a death-rate of 30 per 1,000 to the condition of the vitality of 15 per 1,000, it will be as if more than ten years of life were given to them, and also a large reduction effected of the burden of local taxation. At present the policy commonly in practice is that of founding hospitals for the relief of foul air diseases, leaving the source of the foul air untouched. The economy of working force is, as I have stated it, in retrieving the loss of working force to the community, as it would be in rendering it unnecessary to rear two colts to obtain one working horse, and the horse when reared on these conditions, lasted only two-thirds of the time that might be attained under proper condition of vitality. The public will have to say whether the greater service of vitality shall keep pace with the lesser, military service of lethality. The reduction of the rates obtainable by an advanced service of sanitation would be independent of that obtainable by the reduction of vice and fraud in the administration of Poor-law relief as prayed for in the petitions of the Guardians and of the Chambers of Agriculture, for a return to the principles laid down in 1833.

Fallacy of the Phrase 'Local Self-Government.'

Fallacy of the term local self-government.

The term, 'local self-government,' signifying as it does the direct individual knowledge of the local affairs of the local unit of administration and the participation of the ratepayer in the expenditure of his own money, is in the majority of cases a mischievous fallacy. As the demands of attention to his own personal or private affairs increase, the citizen's power of attention to the public affairs of increasing magnitude diminishes, and he is obliged to let his local affairs go as they may to persons of whose fitness he has no knowledge, and with whom he has only an infinitesimal power of interfering;—that is to say, in a large London parish he has, as a voter, some twenty thousandth part of the self-government—if he neglected his private business to take a part. Take that comparatively little place, the City of London, with only 50,000, or half the population of a second-rate metropolitan parish, such as Mile End Old Town. The citizen cannot be aware of the fact that he is paying for the disunity of his police force upwards of £40,000 per annum, or nearly £4 per house, large and small, as against some 5s. per house paid under unity for the police force of the rest of the metropolis—that the cost of protecting life and property under the existing conditions of a separate brigade force is more than double and approaches to three-fold the cost of a combined force

Prevalent local ignorance of the subject matter of local administration.

with inferior protection to life under disunity of three to one, as against an organised force under unity. He cannot, moreover, be aware of such great results as were ascertained by the metropolitan sanitary commission of the extent of the loss of life, to which, if he is resident, he is subjected to by the disunity of his 'local self government,' and against which he is helpless unless he becomes non-resident in the city, and obtains residence in a suburb. In the course of some inquiries it was ascertained that in Cheapside, Fleet Street, and the Strand, almost all the resident householders had left; that they had all gone with their families to the suburbs, and that their city dwellings were let as warehouses or offices, leaving only a keeper in charge of them at night. It appeared that not an instance was known of an alderman resident within his jurisdiction, as of old was necessary. Aldermen now came to their business offices for as short a time as possible, and returned as quickly as they could to their suburban residences. My estimate was, considering the different death rates, that men of various ages and conditions by expending a ninth of their day's time in going daily to their offices and returning to their lower death-rated suburban residences, must gain a fourth more of life. The vitalising power of the civic air to which they leave the people who cannot get out of it, is only as two or less, whilst the vitalising power of good suburban air to which they get out themselves, is as three or more. In illustration of the difference of the sanitary conditions of the civic air, and of the suburban air, I may state that physicians are well aware that, in a large proportion of cases of serious illness, the chances of recovery are considerably increased (perhaps to the proportion above stated) by removal from the common urban air to a purer suburban air; and in cases of serious operation, where the patient cannot be removed, the practice is to wash by chemical means the urban air which would not be thought necessary in a less impure suburban air. In Westminster, where perhaps the air is somewhat less bad than in the city, sanitary science strains and washes the air for the protection of members in the Houses of Parliament. This would be unnecessary in such a suburb as Coombe. Bad sanitation and aerial impurity tell most potently on infantile life. The removal—such is the experience on which I state this—of the orphan children of the city parishes, children of the very lowest type, to the pure air of the Central District School of Hanwell has been attended by a reduction of their death rate to about one third of that of children of the same class who still reside in the city.

Example of the difference in sanitary conditions between urban and suburban residences, occasioned by bad local administration.

The death rates in small rural hospital as compared with the rates in the large London hospitals differ by more than a third.

Nevertheless, it did appear to us at the Metropolitan Sanitary Commission that there was a possibility of eventually advancing by sanitary measures, the population within the city district, very much to an equality with most suburban districts. But this could only be achieved under unity, by measures immensely beyond the conception of the 'local self-governor,' or by his representatives, *i.e.*, by means of thorough scientific subsoil drainage of distant areas, such as those of the distant eastern marshes, which we therefore did include in the district of the Consolidated Commission of Sewers, by whose action we anticipated a considerable reduction of the fogs afflicting the metropolis. The city and the adjacent urban district might also be relieved by a reduction of the smoke nuisance, by the diminution of the price of heating by gas when it is placed on a public footing as well as by regulations for the introduction of smoke consuming fuel. There might also be much displacement of inferior buildings, and much re-building, which the expenses of the present death-rates would repay. There are now well-to-do districts at the West End, as about Tyburnia, where the death-rates do not exceed 11 per 1,000, or one-half the death-rate in the city proper, or about the same as the better suburban district, and with some advantage over those, the suburban districts, with land imperfectly drained being excessively wet at some seasons. We had fair reason to believe that by good sanitary measures under unity the wealth of residence on the city site might be brought up to that of the best West End sites. There would hence be an approximation to an equality in death rates with the suburbs; and be a tendency to return on the part of the urban residential population; for socially there are advantages in the urban residences which give them an advantage over the comparative isolation and solitude, and the daily expenses and inconveniences of the suburban residences. Of the effects of sanitation on urban residences an example is presented at Hamburgh. Old Hamburgh was much in the condition of Old London, and merchants sought relief in suburban residences. After the fire, Hamburgh was rebuilt on the plans of an English Sanitary Engineer, Mr. William Lindley, avowedly on the principles set forth in our sanitary reports, when, from the improvements effected, merchants left their suburban residences, and returned to residences in the then improved healthier town districts.

Power of sanitation to restore the equality of urban to suburban sanitary conditions.

Dependency of sanitary pro-

For the attainment of such results a knowledge of sanitary principles is required, which we know to be of extremely rare

acquisition for application even under unity, but which may be regarded as impracticable in such a narrow area of disunity as that of the City Corporation. Speaking of the Metropolis as a whole, we stated the following conclusion in the Metropolitan Sanitary Report, which maybe commended to very special attention at the present juncture of legislation for an advance towards unity: 'The more the investigation advances, the more it is apparent that the progressive improvement and proper improvement and proper execution of this class of public works, together with the appliances of hydraulic engineering, cannot be reasonably expected to be dealt with incidentally or collaterally to ordinary occupation, or even to connected professional pursuits, but requires a degree of special study which not only places them beyond the sphere of popular administrative bodies, but beyond that of ordinary professional and architectural practice. In justification of this conclusion, and to show the evil of the perverted application of names of high general professional authority, we might adduce examples of the most defective works which have received their sanction. All the improvements which the public have yet obtained in this branch of public works have been the result of the special and undivided practical attention of well-qualified paid officers; and it appears to us that further improvement must be sought by the same means, and that one of the chief objects of future administrative arrangements must be to secure, protect, and to encourage the zealous, undivided attention and efficient labour of such officers.'

scientific qualifications of paid officers.

The last water bill of the Corporation, of its Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Councilmen, may be cited as confirmatory of the conclusions as to the state of legislative incapacity to which they are reduced by narrow areas and conditions of disunity.

By Commission after Commission the conclusion was adopted of the necessity of placing the whole of the water supplies of the Metropolis under unity on a public footing. As was stated in some of the 'companies' Reports' it was only on a public footing that a waste could be prevented, such prevention being beyond the powers of the separate companies. But the last Corporation Bill was in defiance of these conclusions, and was for the retention of the disunity in the hands of the separate companies, frustrating the economics of unity, and doing so on conditions of purchase which the proprietors of Water Companies considered amounted to confiscation. An excuse for some support given to the Bill was that it might be re-shaped in committee. But it met with an immediate and

Example of ignorance of administrative science displayed by the corporation of London.

proper rejection. What ought not to be forgotten is the state of intelligence displayed by its conception. The most remarkable examples of ignorant self-satisfaction displayed in the City, and by the Vestries, as to the work within their jurisdictions, where, besides the large sources of misery and waste, already discussed, their roadways are made dangerous by the neglect of the practice of washing displayed in 'clean-streeted Paris.' In their jurisdictions large thoroughfares that at times smell of dung, like ill-kept stable yards, and that have clouds of dust in summer, and seas of mud in winter, that are at times dangerously slippery for foot passengers, and have long blocks of snow in winter; yet these bodies all declare that they do their work well, and that it cannot be (according to them) amended.

Suppose, however, on the theory of local self-government, of the individual cognizance of the individual voter of his own affairs, what means were there of his knowing anything about them—although they really affected the purity of his water supplies, and his health and life, and his relief from the excessive burden of the sickness and other rates? If he could be made aware of them, by reading reports, of which the usual organs of instruction do not obtain any mastery, and only give misleading scraps, what are his prospects of bringing that knowledge of his own affairs—with which the political theory of self-government credits him—by the application of his twenty thousandth share of the administration as a voter?

Besides science, chiefly sanitary science, to be applied, there is administrative science to be acquired. Besides the demand for such sciences, to effect large economics in local administration, there is required, moreover, business or administrative science to insure their application. In places where there are great displays of ability in arts, manufacturing, and commerce, as in Manchester, there is very little wisdom exhibited in local sanitary administration.

Out of some 16,000 parishes in England and Wales not above six were found that could be held forth as examples of administration on sound economic principle for general imitation. In these select instances, the administration had fallen to men of distinguished ability, who devoted almost undivided attention to the service, of which the rest of the parishioners knew little or nothing. At present not above two or three unions in each county, and not more than two or three unions in the Metropolis, can be cited as models of sound local administration, on principle, for imitation.

In the largest parishes, with a population of between

Specialty of
paid local
administrative
service
required.

Ignorance of
administrative
science in
conditions of
disunity and
small areas.

100,000 and 200,000, not a score of attendances are usual for elections, and those attendances of persons chiefly of sinister interests. Hence, the most important administrations commonly falls into the least qualified hands. The tendency of augmentations of the extent and importance of administrative areas, is to diminish the attendance of the business classes at meetings, and to their abandonment of the increased labour of 'self-government'; and to its being left to those whose time is worthless, or to those who have a sinister interest in the patronage derivable from it. The like tendency is displayed, as hereafter stated, in the larger American cities. This tendency is only to be guarded against by the concentration of the responsibility or of the administration on well qualified local paid officers giving their whole time to the service.

On the General Local Burdens Occasioned by Disunity, against Unity under the New Centralisation for the people.

Whilst the poorer classes are crying out for more of centralisation, that is to say, more of inspection and regulation of their places of work, more of the visitation of sanitary inspectors into their cottages to examine the conditions of their drainage and water supply, we have exclamations in Parliament of aversion to any extension of centralisation. We know well enough whence those feelings of aversion are inspired; that they arise from the irresponsible rate expenders, chiefly the owners of bad tenements, who are members of local boards, who are averse to the outlays to which such inspections tend, and who have for some years frustrated the operation of the *measures* for the poor—protective measures provided by the Legislature. These men, whose chief occupation is in the collection of their weekly rents, are active members of party electoral associations, and impress upon members, as feelings of the population, what we found on experience only the expression of their own interested feelings.

Distinction of centralisation for the Government and centralisation for the people explained.

It appears to be important that the principles and operation of this new centralisation should be more distinctly understood than they appear to be in Parliament and amongst public writers. As they appear to be as yet but little known or understood or attended to in high political quarters I beg to state them, as I prepared them for the then new central authority in Poor-law administration. They are these :

Popularity and economy of a central police force.

That it is as an authority properly constituted.

'As a responsible agency for the removal of those evils in the repression of which the public at large have an interest, but for which the people of the locality are helpless or incompetent.

'As an authority of appeal in disputes between conflicting local interests.

'As a security of appeal for the correct distribution of local charges, and for the protection of minorities and absentees against wasteful works and undue charges.

'As an agency for collecting for its own guidance, and communicating to each local authority for its guidance the principles deduced from the experience of all other places from which information may be obtained.' This is a service which ought to be well provided for and sedulously enforced.

Great importance is to be attached to this function, the effects of which can only be appreciated by the experience of its exercise.

I may claim for the plan and the recited principles, which I prepared, especially the principle of action, by organised instruction for voluntary adoption, and which with the concurrence of the great prelates on our board, Bishop Blomfield and Bishop Sumner, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and also of Mr. Nassau Senior, and other distinguished members, at whose instance I prepared it for the cabinet; and which, when in office, I carried out as far as I could by official circulars of information to the local officers, and by reasoned answers to applications for information. It made the central board more of a central servant than a dogmatic master. It worked most satisfactorily; but when, subsequently, there was a relaxation of such action at the centre there was a relaxation of action on principle at the localities, and old evils reappeared and rates were augmented.

Interest of the Central Authority in Local Centralisation and Local Unity.

I may here meet the exclamation apt to be raised by certain classes of politicians, 'Then you are all for centralisation!' Even if it were so, it would be for you, the advocate of decentralisation and disunity, to say whether you prefer disease and premature mortality and waste with what is called local self-government, to health and strength, and economy with centralisation. But I answer, that I am, on principle, for extensive

decentralisation—actually for decentralisation to the greatest extent by well-arranged local consolidation for superior self-government over that which now exists; and that is your real choice—a true representation of the best local intelligence under unity in the place of disunity and local ignorance. I can speak from long experience as the chief executive officer of the first central authority for the regulation of the science of local administration in England, that the administration which worked the best for the ratepayers, and was their best local government, and which gave the least trouble, was the most agreeable to us at the central board. An arrangement by which some five or six boards were consolidated on proper administrative principles would effect a saving of some five or six inferior and clashing sets of correspondences and troubles brought under one superior local administration, with superior local responsible officers and superior correspondences, and reduced local inspections, all which would be a work of decentralisation, to the proportionate relief of the central authority, whilst it would afford superior self-government and greater relief of the ratepayers. The interest of the central administration is really in the most complete well-organised local self-government, and its smooth unjarring action, which will give it the least trouble. For Poor-law administration—as I have shown—it fell to me originally to prepare the plan for the reorganisation of the local administration, distributed amongst between sixteen and seventeen thousand parishes, into between six and seven hundred unions. It will be seen that my principles would have carried the extension of the local areas of administration much further. I accepted, as a first step, the aggregation of the parishes and the county town to which they resorted as their market, as the first administrative unit, reserving extended combinations, or what may be called inter-unional combinations, which I cannot here specify, that will be needed for the attainment of further local administrative efficiency and economy. But the aggregation of the present suburban *unions* round the larger cities into one union and larger local administrations, forming counties in themselves, may be submitted as the next step in advance to supersede the present inferior local service by superior paid executive officers acting under local supervision.

Interest of the central service in local decentralisation.

Further extension of the areas of local administration required for efficiency and economy.

Defects of the Centralisation of France and of the Local Administration in the United States.

There is a vague prepossession against centralisation from a notion that it must partake of the character of that of Bonaparte in France, which was a centralisation not exercising for the people any of the functions above specified, but rather against the people, and for himself to secure military force by conscription and taxation. In the time of Louis Phillippe, I received from the French government some questions on local administration, but I could not answer them without acquainting myself with the conditions to which they referred by examining them, which I had then no power to do. The sanitary conditions of the population in France are now, however, worse than those of the population in England; the death rates are heavier, and the gains derivable by them from sanitation would be greater. It is now being found out that even the chief health resorts of France are places of danger to visitors for residence. But I have a full conviction that relief can only be gained for them by a new centralisation, *for the people*, by the exercise of such functions as those I have described; but it cannot exercise those functions, through the 'commune,' a local administrative unit of an area no greater in the vast majority of cases than the old parish in England, and as destitute of any competent staff of well qualified paid officers. The first step for bringing science to bear for the relief of the people by the reduction of the burdens and the wastefulness of ignorance in local administration, will be by the absorption of the communes and the formation of extended administrative units on the principles of our 'unions,' under our Boards of Guardians, apparently 'the canton' with competent staffs of servants, including qualified paid officers—health officers—acting on all ordinary occasions under local representative supervision independently of the central authority. The Bureau Centrale d'Hygiene is an excellent body, which has made valuable contributions to sanitary science, but it has existed almost in vain for the want of competent local authorities to apply its instructions.*

Low condition
of local admin-
istration in
France.

Bad central-
isation in
France.

* M. Odilon Barrot, in a work on Centralisation says 'Comment en effet comprendre une république au sommet: si l'on ne commence pas par en poser les bases dans la commune' that is to say, in a basis as low and as inefficient as an administrative unit as was our parish. This large error is now being perceived, and it is proposed to enlarge the administrative unit by six times, but that, I apprehend, will yet be found much too small for efficient and economical sanitation. In correspondence with M. Dupont White, the French *publiciste*, who wrote on

In the United States, too, there will be found a necessity for the application of correct science to retrieve the burdens of local ignorance. New cities are being founded there on undrained sites, under malarious influences, implanting the evils of our old home ignorance. There is in the States no practical centralisation, only 'entire self-government,' that of inferior local unity, and the conditions of the cities and of the people are generally yet worse than ours were. In many towns the local burdens are terribly in excess. In New Orleans the death-rates are stated to be as high as 56 in a thousand. In other cities the death-rates are even higher than from the defective registration appears. One test, however, of their condition is the proportion of deaths of children under five years of age to the total deaths. I have stated them to be in grievous excess in the City of London at 27 per cent.; but in New York they appear to be 37 and 40 per cent., and in Chicago 45 per cent. and in other cities 49-63, and 63 per cent.

Bad centralisation in the United States.

It may be observed that precautions should be taken, by emigration societies and agencies, to warn emigrants against these pest holes, where half their children will be in their graves before their fifth year, and where they must sustain serious losses of their own working ability. In my observation, migrants and emigrants are the first to suffer from passing epidemics before the natives, who appear to have a species of inoculation against them. The only mode of protecting the liberties of the people, the liberty of life and health, and the exercise of natural powers and freedom from preventable disease and premature mortality, and from the oppression of excessive taxation, and irresponsible and false 'local self-government' will be found to be in suitable centralisation, such as that, the results of which I have stated for examination. The township of the States is for the most part the equivalent of our old English parish, and is as impracticable as a local unit of efficient and

Excessive death rates and dangers to emigrants from bad sanitation.

Centralisation, I brought before him the principles adopted in England, in which he agreed, and adopted it as a principle that it was a force 'pour les peuples non moins que pour les gouvernements.' Here, as I may show, it is entirely for the people. He was strongly for the extension of its judicial functions, as those of an authority which was distant, free from the suspicion of local connections and influences, and recognised as of superior qualifications and of perfect impartiality. He defends the principle from the defaults of the Governmental centralisation, which do not belong to the centralisation for the people; but he maintains, 'Et la loi morale qu, se perfectionne dans les consciences d'élite, dans des règlements nouveaux, pense-z-vous qu'elle va exécuter d'elle-même?' 'Or, la discipline, la sanction de tout ce progrès sera centrale ou sera nulle. Ne pas faire de lois ou en faire dont l'exécution soit éparse et irresponsable envers la législature, c'est tout un.'

Only the township or the parochial organisation in rural districts.

economical local administration as our parishes were. An advance is required to be made to our present unit of local administration, 'the union,' with the Board of Guardians, and beyond that to 'the county,' with an adjustment of areas to maintain competent staffs of permanent paid officers, including the permanent health officer, to be made by an organising central authority, with its consultative, collective experiences for their support. Our kinsmen of the Northern States may be reminded that but for the application of sanitary principles by the Army Sanitary Commission of the United States, after the example of our sanitary commission in the Crimea, it would, from the great loss of force for want of preventive science, have gone hard with them in the war of the rebellion. As yet there appear to have been no due consideration of the State arrangements for the due protection of the lives and health and strength of the civil population. From the report of the centenary of the Harvard College, the most ancient medical college of the States, and perhaps of Europe, it appears that its studies are wholly in curative science. For the sake of our kinsmen and of our emigrant population, we may express a hope that distinct State provision may be made for the cultivation of the science of prevention, of which the *Times* recently declared that 'sanitary science is the glory of modern times. It is the favourite pursuit of the present day. None is felt to be more needed, and none is more neglected for all practical purposes.'

Only curative organisation generally provided.

But of the instances of its neglect even here from ignorance, none perhaps can be adduced more striking than the fact that the condition of New York should be received here and put forth as an example of 'centralisation,' and that such an allegation should be adopted in support of such existing local administration—as that displayed in that metropolis,—with its condition of damp sub-soils, of sewers that are extended cesspools, of two-thirds of its houses badly drained, of conditions of water distribution that make good supplies bad, and bad supplies worse,—of ill-cleansed and foul smelling streets,—of overcrowding and slums, from the non-feasance for years, the powers of prevention, and the neglect of excessive death-rates,—the results of 'vestralisation';—that these results should be ignored, and the conditions maintained, as of the 'self-government 'dear to Englishmen,' and maintained by gentlemen serving as magistrates'; and that the conditions of New York should be received and presented, on the authority of an ex-mayor of that city, as an example of 'centralisation'; these allegations certainly denote most deplorable ignorance of the

Example of ignorance and waste in the local administration of New York.

cases requiring amendment for the abatement of the miseries of the poor population! The case of New York may, indeed, be presented as an example of the ignorance of local administration to be carefully guarded against in legislation, in heaping together functions for extended local administration without order and corresponding obligations, and without securities for the qualifications and accountability of paid officers, and without consulting existing sanitary practice. If that of our first central authority, the general Board of Health, or that of the present Local Government Board, had been known or regarded in the States, it would be seen that any single ratepayer might have moved relief in a short time by an application to the Board, on which an examination by its inspectors would have taken place, and the dismissal of all the culpable officer holders such as those of New York, and probably their prosecution would have followed, and in weeks relief would have been given from the criminal administration, the waste, and the oppression to which it appears that the ratepayers of New York have by ignorant legislature and local administration, and by the want of the requisite 'centralisation,' have been subjected for years. Nevertheless, when the principles of sanitary science and its engineering and mechanical arts are better known, and when the principles of legislation for their application, including that of centralisation for the protection of liberty and the maintenance of the most important progress are understood, I confidently expect that the principles will be returned to us by our cousins of the States, with improvements for our adoption.

Hope of ultimate sanitary progress in the United States.

Increasing difficulty of Local Self-Government.

It is to be further observed as a principle of legislation that as the population and magnitude of a civil local authority increases the magnitude of subject matters of administration, their complication, and the difficulty of acquiring a competent knowledge of them, or of the qualifications of administrators required for them, increases beyond the powers of acquisition without commensurate labour by the ordinary voters. Take the case of the Metropolis. I may state that on commissions of inquiry we have had scarcely a single instance of Metropolitan members who have been at the pains to acquire a thorough knowledge of one of the chief factors of local administration so as to be regarded as of any service upon it for the ratepayers. Take the subject of the water supply for the Metropolis. They have not mastered the sciences nor the economical or admini-

Increase of local ignorance of local administration, with the increase of the magnitude of local affairs, and of private business.

Ignorance of members of

Parliament
injurious to
the people.

strative principles involved in the subject as expounded in the elaborate reports made upon it. If they had they might have averted an expenditure of some eighteen or twenty millions on separate works and separate supplies, mostly from inferior sources, that have been expressly sanctioned by Parliament, and must inevitably be paid for. Take the case of the drainage of the Metropolis. If they would have mastered the science and the principles involved, as expounded in reports, they might have prevented a threefold expenditure on works that have proved a mischievous waste, resulting in the pollution of the atmosphere, and throwing the manurial matters for 190,000 cows into the river or the sea—an estimated waste of the value of two millions annually. Only one late member, whose own property had been endangered, could be got to give any attention to the subject of the prevention of the loss of property by fire, and to the proceedings of a special committee for two sessions on the subject—resulting in the affirmation of long settled principles on the subject, which had they been mastered and duly prosecuted by the body of the members, would by this time have saved 300 lives and a thousand serious fires. But if this be so with representatives, who may be regarded as having some duty to acquaint themselves with the subject matters of administration for their constituents, what must it be with each individual of the 20,000 voters in the City of London for example, that imposes such work upon him, such examination of reports and plans, for the exercise of a twenty-thousandth share or chance of obtaining any result by his great pains? The majority of men in business rarely examine even the balance sheets of the companies in which they are shareholders, or can be got to attend meetings about them unless under extraordinary circumstances, though these are of greater interest to them than local affairs. The consequence is that the neglected 'self-government' generally falls into the hands of persons whose time is worthless, or into ignorant and wasteful hands, or into the hands of obscure persons who have some sinister interests to promote. Exhortations to the citizens are heard about the duty of attending to their self-government. But it is overlooked that the progress of great commercial and manufacturing affairs is a progress of exhausting competition, which leaves them little time for labour in those for 'self-government.' The Press itself seeks to give relief to these conditions by subjects that amuse for a few minutes, rather than fatigue the attention by elaborate statements that require hours of study. The consequences of the working of what are really our own inherited

Self-govern-
ment usually
the govern-
ment of the
ignorant.

institutions for 'self-government' is displayed in America, where the local taxation is, I believe, heavier, whilst the self-government appears to be generally worse than it is in this country. The state of the administration, and the burdens of the rates and taxes there, have become so intolerable in New York as to create an agitation, and an extraordinary examination and a recent report upon it.

The New York report of a committee of examination complains that 'the people are always clamouring about how bad our government is, but are not willing to lift their little finger to make that government better. Those people are the real ones who are responsible for our misgovernment. The decent citizens of New York more than any other are responsible for letting the rogues have full play.' But in another part, the report states as the conditions to which the default is due. 'As a matter of fact in the hurry and press of New York life, in the sharp and harassing business competition that prevails there, and must prevail in such great mercantile centres in the midst of the thousand feverish activities that compose the daily lives of our citizens, it is impossible for them to exercise that supervision over their representatives that can be spared.' But this is very much the condition of our own citizens of London, and of our citizens of Liverpool and of Manchester. I have had the statement of one American citizen who went into the subject of the local self government patriotically, but he found that it required such eternal vigilance and labour that he felt himself a 'slave to liberty' and was obliged to give it up. The consequence of the conditions which drive away the respectable but pre-occupied citizens is stated to be there that 'the self government' is left to a class of men, says the report, 'who fatten in the public offices upon the plunder arising from the working man and from the taxpayer alike, who hold their grip upon us by means of the patronage that we—like fools that we are—leave in their hands, who unite themselves with every bad element in the community, who unite with those who live by trading on the vices of the community; who can count with absolute certainty upon the support of the lowest liquor sellers; who count upon the support upon all that is vile and bad throughout our great cities; for men, such as these, are the politicians of the lowest type. It is against these men, and not against any imaginary foe like an aristocracy, that we are to direct our efforts.'

Exclusion of knowledge of local administration by the preoccupation with private affairs.

Past condition of local self-government in New York.

Under the constabulary force commission of inquiry, I have received, confidentially, information from chief officers of municipal police forces in this country, suggesting that I should find

out myself the sort of houses owned by members of the watch committees to which the police were, to their grief, subjected. In several instances it was pointed out to me that the municipal watch committees were under the influence of liquor sellers, whose houses it was the duty of the police to control. By the supporters of one hon. member, a candidate for a metropolitan constituency, it was found that brothel keepers had got amongst his committee and had appeared in bills in association with them as supporters. Before a committee in the Lords the moral conditions of the municipalities were displayed, presenting features in analogy with those presented in the New York report. I believe that since the time of my inquiries reactionary proceedings have taken place, and that the evil character of the administration has been abated, but not sufficiently to render precautionary arrangements against the evil unnecessary.

The first evil which the administrative reformers in New York propose to attack is the nomination of numbers of unknown persons to local offices, an evil widely prevalent here.

I expect that if hon. members resident in this metropolis were asked who their local self-governors were, not one in twenty could tell. In New York they do not know who their aldermen are. The report states that 'If you ask a citizen what kind of man his alderman is, the chances are fully three to one that he cannot inform you even of his name. Even if he can do this he certainly knows nothing further about him.'—'When it comes to electing a Board of Aldermen, the nominees are, in the great majority of cases, utterly unknown except to the local bosses who create them.'

It is proposed then, by the administrative reformers in New York, to abolish entirely these unknown aldermen, who are the sources of mischief, and to concentrate all the administrative responsibility on the known—the mayor. 'You ask any man in New York what his opinion of the mayor is and he can tell you. He knows what his name is; he knows, more or less vaguely, what it is; but still he knows in a rough way what he has done.'

But with us the like change of administration, of the unknown many and irresponsible rate expenders to the known and more responsible few—a change to be highly commendable in principle—would not lead to the attainment of the principle of local self-government—namely, the knowledge of the condition of the many of the poorest class, nor to the scientific knowledge of the means of their amendment.

The extracts which I have quoted from the New York report contains a suggestion, that the ignorance of the character and

Bad local
government
by impaired
administrators

Abolition of
Aldermen
proposed in
New York.

moral qualifications of the representative rate expenders in crowded urban districts might be arrested by a better supervision where 'the population is sparse and the modes of life simpler.' I have read much of the administration of the American township, and have seen instances in it of the wastefulness, ignorance, and jobbery of the old English parish. The following sentence from a sanitary report I have just received from Connecticut, would, to those who understand sanitary principles, be decisive as to the prevailing ignorance in rural as in urban administration. Dr. Charles Gardiner, of Hampton, Connecticut, in a paper on some of the unsanitary conditions of country life, concludes by stating that there were last year 1,100 deaths from foul air diseases, in which 650 children under the age of ten perished. 'Dead from preventible diseases' might truthfully be written on nearly every tombstone; lives wasted with all their wonderful possibilities. What are those Herods that make such havoc among our little ones? Are they mighty kings before whose omnipotent decree our bruised hearts must bow in hopeless, voiceless agony? No! they are low born ruffians, begotten of decomposition, nurtured amidst stench, perpetuated and poisoned by filth. They loiter in sink, spout, and pigstye, in cesspool and sewer, to seize upon our little ones, to silence their prattling voices, wither their baby hands, quiet their pattering feet, and tear our treasures from us, leaving only saddened memories and churchyard mounds.'

One of the evils of all local administrative bodies has been jobbing and patronage appointments, an evil which is avowedly greater in America than it is yet here, in the local administration—the great corrective of which it may be said, that which has proved 'good for the goose'—the State—is 'good for the gander'—the municipality. This should be strongly insisted upon, and that the competition should be specialised for the local service. In the urban districts very few people understand the principles required for the service, or know the qualifications for their application. It has been inferred, in the report I have cited, that in the smaller rural districts the affairs are more simple, and the principles of administration more evident; but it is not so. It will appear on examination, there in the United States (and also in our colonies) as here, that the whole theory of vulgar politicians as to local self government will have to be dismissed, and that relief from the most dire evils and the burdens of ignorance will only be obtainable *ab extra* from science, to be applied locally by permanent and well qualified paid officers, by such administration as they may elucidate

Securities for qualifications of the officers of State needed for the local governments

False theories
of local self-
government.

from experience. The narrowness of the bases of local representations for our 'local self-government' were frequently shown, at our first general Board of Health, when strong representations from Urban Authorities were made against the application of the Public Health Act to their populations. On such occasions we sent inspectors to call meetings of the inhabitants and explain to them the nature of the measures purposed in their behalf, of which they had been kept in the dark. Invariably almost the measures first opposed, were carried by acclamation and by the actual representatives of the ratepayers the resistance of the few rate expenders was swept away. On the occurrence of epidemic visitations or of excessive death rates in urban districts we sent sanitary engineers to examine the localities, and gave them particular instructions that they should get the Mayors, Town Councillors, and the Municipal Officers to accompany them in their examinations. It was almost invariable that these Mayors and Municipal Officers expressed their surprise and amazement at the conditions they were made to see, and said they could not have believed that any such were existing in the town, or that people were living in such a state. Recently it appeared that, close to the Royal Palace at Windsor, there was a population, living in the most wretched condition, of which the Mayor, knighted a few days previously, these local authorities evidently knew nothing. Instead of knowing most about the subject-matters of self-government—it turned out that they really knew least of what was close to their own doors. I doubt whether any Lord Mayor can have seen the slums within his jurisdiction or conditions whence arise the greatest amount of misery for relief, and of disorder and crime to be punished. It was an event of our time that one of them was trodden by the Prince of Wales for the personal examination of those conditions. I had recently to preside at a sanitary congress held at Brighton, which had suffered in its reputation, as a health resort, from an attack of an epidemic. It appeared to me that the local authorities were unaware of important sanitary principles, affecting the ordinary death-rate by an excess of at least one-third, and I prevailed on Dr. Richardson to conduct what I called a clinical examination of the city, that would evolve the sanitary principles which largely affected its prosperity. The report will show that a skilful diagnosis of a city is of as much importance for ascertaining its collective condition as is the diagnosis of an individual whose strength is affected by some internal complaint. It appeared to me that by simple ignorance and the neglect to call in the aid of the science available for a pro-

Ignorance of
the local self
governors.

vincial service, it had been led to mis-spend as much money on one large tunnel sewer as would have sufficed for the construction of self-cleansing sewers for every court, alley or street in the place, that would have materially reduced its death-rate, and have preserved the yield of milk of more than four thousand cows, now thrown into the sea. It appeared, moreover, that the whole administration of the place was seriously affected by disunity. The great majority of the larger municipalities present examples of similar waste from similar causes. As it is with sanitary science so it is with special economical science in administration, the aid of which will be found requisite to give strength to local authority and preserve its exercise from failure and waste.

Agitation for the Improvement of Elementary Education and Local Self-Government by Centralisation in the United States.

Elementary education in the United States is found to need considerable improvement, but that it cannot be advanced by the primitive administrative unit, the township, the equivalent of parish, and that to obtain the economy of skilled teaching, and to ensure it by competent inspections, there must be a larger local administrative area for the rural districts, under a responsible central authority, for which there is now an agitation. As our cousins go on they will perceive the economy of a well-organised education department, and the need of the undivided attention of an 'education minister.' That is to say for mental training. But the economy of preventive physical training will be eventually perceived as it has been in Sweden, where every child on admission to school is diagnosed by a special physicist, who prescribes lessons or corrective training exercises, and deputes a special physical trainer to see the prescription properly applied. Other states are beginning to follow this course, which leads to colleges for the promotion of physical, concurrently with mental training, under a "Health Minister." Our taxes, for preventible physical defects, are mainly of 30 per cent. of rejections for physical defects for military service, ascertained on offers for recruitment; two thirds of the cases of blindness thirty thousand; a large proportion of eighty thousand cases of lunacy, which is proved to be due to defective physical condition; also a large proportion of the criminal population form inaptitudes to productive industry, defects proved by the gains from their removal by

the physical training of the well-conducted half-time schools, which give to every town the physical aptitudes and value of three for productive industry. Correct centralisation and physical training will be found to free the masses from the most dire slavery, the scourges and slavery of excessive disease, and premature working disability, and premature mortality.

Wastefulness
and ignorance
of local self-
government.

I consider, then, that large and complete units of local administration are necessary to a good system of centralisation, as I do that a good centralisation is to efficient local administration, both being amongst other points contributaries of experiences for general guidance. I append a paper of memoranda, showing the disadvantage under which populations under the old municipal local governments are placed for want of the consultative aid and the securities of a good centralisation, and displaying the superiority of the union, as a local administrative unit, as compared with the municipality. I might adduce illustrations of enormous waste and failures of local works that would have been averted by the necessity of a reference to the superior collectivity of a properly conducted central authority.

Effect of Unity in Legislation, and of Codification based upon it, as a Guide and Binding Force with our Colonies.

Effect of
codification
under unity as
a binding
force with our
Colonies.

Binding effect
of the French
code.

Success of the
Indian code.

In regard to the effect of superior legislation produced by the attainment of unity, by doing everywhere the same thing in the same way, as closely as may be, choosing the best, I would point to the example of the power gained to France by the uniformity of law and procedure achieved by the Code Napoleon. By that Code, more especially by the Civil Code, an influence of attachment was gained to France, which, if there had been no disruption of war, would have gone far to have retained the voluntary connection of conquered populations; particularly that of Belgium, where the Code is still retained in substance, as it is largely in Italy and other States on the continent. But we may advance beyond the example of this near Continental experience to the practical working of our own Code for India. That Indian Code was mainly wrought out on the lines of Bentham, worked out by his ardent disciple Cameron. The most experienced India administrators speak of it, so far as it has been carried, as a vast success, in producing order where there was chaos, and giving a strong binding force of unity to the administration of that great part of the British Empire.

It may be submitted that sound codification is of increasing necessity for binding together our colonies and of clearing away from the older colonies the great mass of different systems of law prevalent amongst them—old Dutch law, old French law, and new French law, or the law of the earlier and of the later French codes, which would present important and profitable subjects for examination and comparison of the works of Pothier, and the other great juriconsults of France and its civil code. Amongst other observable points would be the working of the obligation on traders to keep books in preventing bankruptcy frauds. The late Sir William Martin, the Chief Justice of New Zealand, explained to me how unworkable he found the home procedure of the English courts, and the absolute necessity he was under of framing a new procedure suitable to the colony. It was interesting to find how closely he approximated independently to the procedure elaborated by Bentham for home use. I submit that the colonial experiences of the law officers may be the best consulted for getting out a code for common use, which I anticipate would, in its simple elements, serve also the best for home use. It may be anticipated that the common interest of the Colonies would conciliate their aid to such a work.

Unity for the colonies.

The great commercial revolution wrought by the telegraph in the movement of goods and capital in the most remote parts of the world, in days that formerly occupied weeks and months of time, now make uniformity of commercial law and procedure for the whole of the empire of greatly increased importance for its commerce.

Unity produced by telegraphic communication.

Sir Henry Thring, our able Government draughtsman, in his article in the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1874, on the simplification of the law by codification, suggests that the first practical step is to establish a 'department of the Government charged with the duty of putting in shape the existing law and superintending current legislation.' I imagine that he will have had experience of the difficulty of getting Parliament to submit to any supervision of current legislation. Sir Robert Peel expressed his experience of its difficulty when, speaking of Lord Romilly's Encumbered Estates Act for Ireland, said 'it was so good a measure that he really wondered how it had got passed.' In the present disunited condition of legislative procedure, it may be stated that, as a rule, no measure partaking of scientific principle is ever passed that does not come out worse than it went in. Of this the measures for the application of sanitary science, and those for the application

Need of unity in legislation.

of administrative science, to the poor laws, may be presented as examples. Concurring in the suggestion of the appointment of a department, I would submit that it should be with the attribution of competent commissioners to make local inquiries, and collect evidence as to experiences, especially from lay people, and obtain consents to the conclusions thereon. I apprehend that they might derive from the colonies, as well as our provinces, experiences with a great amount of support.

Possible
co-operation of
the United
States in
Codification

Our cousins of the United States have carried our common law with them, and the decisions of our judges have rule with them: also statutes of Victoria, as affirmative of the common law. They have retained in some of the states our old legal customs and administrative arrangements that have passed away with us. I expect that they would contribute experiences, and come home with us for an improved code. The expense for an abundantly well appointed and well paid commission to work out the principle of unity, would be a means to a vast economy of money and the gain of Imperial power.

How a central
service may
be advanced.

The cheapest means of working out the results specified, of getting the local administration under complete unity, and getting future legislation under unity by one chamber, would be by a division of labour amongst highly qualified and well paid separate commissions, as by a commission for the assimilation of the administration of the laws for the protection of the public health; by a commission for the assimilation of the law and administration for the relief of destitution; by a commission for the assimilation of the penal law and the administration of constabulary and police forces; by a commission for the assimilation of the laws and administration of the law and the better application of rates for the maintenance of the roads and the means of transit; by a commission for the assimilation of the laws and the assimilation of the civil procedure for the administration of justice, as far as may be, throughout the empire. The results of examinations by competent commissioners would not fail to be a great advance in economy of the increasing amount of fifty millions of local taxes, now burthensome in great part from the unskilfulness and inefficiency of its administration.

I am aware that the work of administrative unification, on the principles which I have tried to enunciate as deduced from experience cannot be expected to be done, so to say, 'to-morrow': but I have felt that they ought to be stated 'to-day' for consideration in connection with the great questions arising on local administration.

But the collection of experiences may be beneficially extended to international expenses. The views expressed by the Prince Consort on the opening of the International Exhibition in 1851, that it might be attended with practical results in the international regulations of commerce, made a wide and deep impression, and it led to a proposition from Italy that the commercial delegates then brought together should agree to the preparation of a code of commerce for all nations. The subject was taken up by the Law Amendment Society, and from what I had written, Lord Brougham (the president), pressed my attendance to vindicate the principle in respect to Quarantine, on which I had recently written. I should have been gratified to enter into the work as consonant to my jurisprudential studies, but the severely pressing demands of my official work precluded it. I believe it was found that there were conflicting interests in the Chambers of Commerce, as then constituted, which beset the task with difficulties which would not then be surmounted by voluntary effort.

Gain in codification by the consultation of international experiences.

In one Chamber the producers' or the manufacturers' interests predominated; in others, the carriers' or the shippers' interests; and in themselves the railway interests, which are yet in antagonism. I believe, nevertheless, that great benefits may be obtained by international association, whilst avoiding severely conflicting interests, and keeping only to common interests. For that purpose, however, a superior independent commission comprising lay members, and publicists representing the general public, would be required. As examples of subject matters of inquiry I may mention that I have been assured, for example, from mercantile experience here, that for the settlement of bankrupts' accounts, the procedure of France has been long superior to ours, in speed and in results in the higher dividends obtained by it, and would have been selected as of the best. In some official inquiries on the state of crime, I find that Manchester was distinguished by an excessive proportion of cases of embezzlement, and that the excess was influenced by the fact that a large proportion in the manufacturing and trading class, from incompetency, kept no books. Under the French code it is obligatory on every trader to keep books, and these are securities for their correctness as pre-appointed evidence. In the countries where the French code was introduced that provision has been generally retained from experience of its importance. The jurists of France discourage the relaxation of responsibility by insurance, the vast differences, four or five-fold, of which I had occasion to show in the case of shipping between the insured and

Sectional interests to be guarded against.

the self insured ships. I had to cite the French code and its inferior practical working in evidence in support of the bill, which at my instance Lord Campbell got passed, for the concentration of responsibility for accidents on those who had the best means of prevention. It must be conceded to me, that I was the first to initiate in this country as I did in official expositions, in addresses at social science congresses, the introduction of the principle of competitive examination, as a test of qualifications for first appointments to the public service, which has since been introduced and is in progress of extension, for abolition of political patronage in the United States. For this measure, I had the basis of previous experience of the working of the large principle in France, where there yet remains for examination the method of competition, for superior medical appointments, by the *concours*, for application for the removal of the scandalous evils of patronage appointments to office in our medical institutions in the metropolis by the method of the *concours* before superior scientists, which it is reported continues to give perfect satisfaction. A competent examination of the experiences on these topics, it may be submitted, is fraught with large available benefits to the British Empire.

On the other hand France is borrowing much from England in the adoption of our half-time principle for the education of children of the wage classes; and eventually by the regulation and inspection of labour in factories, France must borrow, as I have shown by the enlargement of her local administrative unit, and by the aid to it, by a centralisation for the people instead of against it, by centralisation for the augmentation of the health and strength of her population.

Finally, it is to be observed that the procedure submitted for codification is largely in advance of that of judicial legislation, or of 'judge-made law' (superior as that is to mob-made law), as this proceeds on the experiences of masses of cases under varied conditions usually measureable by statistics, in place of the narrow bases of individual cases casually presented for judicial decision.

It may be said that we are now the largest carriers in the world for other people, and that we are also the largest bankers in the world for other people, and that abandoning narrow insular concerns, it befits our position to conciliate the confidence of all our foreign customers in our trustworthiness in these relations

General commercial position of the country for commercial codification.

On Unity as against Laissez Faire in Legislation.

I MUST here beg to submit answers to some objections recently made by Mr. Goschen, to the interference of the State, by the advance of centralisation, 'as impairing self reliance, and independence and natural liberty,' and, by consequence, adversely to that principle of unity for which I contend as necessary for strengthening and extending central aid and control, and stimulating local action for the reduction of the greatest of the evils that afflict humanity. I might, however, ask for a definition of what he means by 'natural liberty'? 'the self-reliance and independence' of whom? I gather from a report of his speech at Edinburgh an illustration of what he means by these terms, and what he deems injurious in the tendency of modern legislation. 'Till some years ago the street traffic in the metropolis,' he observed, 'regulated itself. The rules of the road were held to suffice. But when blocks became more frequent, street accidents of more and more common occurrence, the cry arose for police; coachmen were stopped, drivers directed, foot-passengers assisted, and freedom of passage ceased.' (Cheers.) Cheers, be it noted, from men of the cloister. 'How was it,' he continued, 'that while the growing democracy at home were insisting with such urgency on more control of the State, they saw so small a development of the same principle in the United States, or in our Anglo-Saxon Colonies?'

What he calls 'natural liberty' may really be called a condition of the slavery, of the fear of life and limb. The old, the infirm, females, and children, and almost anyone, have their lives in their hands in crossing one of those great lines of streets, such as Cheapside, when crowded with three lines of traffic. Those crossings which have the protection of the police are just those where the freedom of passage is maintained, and where there is relief from the slavery of the many to the few carriage drivers, yet that relief has to be further estimated. It appears from the last returns that there were 270 persons killed in the streets in the year, 3,589 persons injured so much as to require the care of the police

Different
definition of
natural
liberty.

Extent of evil
sustained by
laissez faire.

in taking them to the hospitals or their homes; nearly all by vehicles, of whom only 1,114 drivers were punished for furious driving. None of our Colonial cities have yet attained to such traffic as that of Fleet Street, which is estimated as consisting of more than 16,000 vehicles daily. In New York, however, they have, I believe, advanced to the method of maintaining liberty to the many that has been introduced into some parts of London, of which a President of the Republic of France once expressed to me his high admiration: that that was true liberty to protect the liberty of the many. There must, then, be restraint of the few, the drivers; and the restraint of the few must be by the intervention of the State or the police. 'Liberty is a right with a corresponding obligation to respect it. Liberty consists of the power of doing anything which does not hurt another.' Very few politicians can be aware of the extent to which the population of the wage classes are subjected to the slavery of fear, by injuries to life and limb, for the causes or conditions of which they are not responsible, and of how much they are in need of the protection of their liberty, against infractions of it from conditions under which they are helpless. The number of men slain outright in the battles of the Twenty-one Years' War did not average more than one thousand per annum, in the naval and military battles combined; but the deaths from violence in England and Wales last year, when it was below the average, was upwards of eighteen thousand, and there would be a threefold number of wounded in the greater proportion of cases. Above half are from steam explosions; more than three thousand are on shipboard. About fifteen hundred children are burned alive annually—little children left home, by *laissez faire*, by their mothers when out at work, instead of being at an infant school or a crèche. Half of them are in their graves before their fifth year; whilst under sanitation, in the district half-time schools, they are positively sheltered almost entirely from children's diseases; where the common death rates are, with an inferior type of children, scarcely one-fourth. Let me present some other examples of *laissez faire*.

Slavery of fear
from calamities
maintained by
laissez faire.

Sacrifices of
life from
violence in
peace greater
than those in
war.

In our Report on the water supply of London a method was pointed out, as I have elsewhere stated, of always having the water brought to bear (by constant pressure from hydrants in the streets, of which the police had the keys) in three minutes for the extinction of fires, as against fifteen or twenty minutes by distant engines. The method was adopted at Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow, with the result of reducing the risks of life and property from fire by two-thirds. But by *laissez*

faire, chiefly, I must say, by default of the metropolitan members of Parliament, and by conditions of local administrative disunity, it has gone on from year to year with an excess of loss, up to this time, of upwards of three hundred persons burned alive, and more than three thousand serious fires, and extra insurance risks of three to one maintained, with the slavery of fear in proportion, much of it due to disunity of local administration—all operating against the people of the metropolis. Measures were prepared for their sanitary improvement that were proved by their practical application in various towns to have effected a rate of saving which, had these measures been applied to the metropolis, would have saved twenty-five thousand lives and three-quarters of a million of cases of sickness, which rates of losses have gone on under the like default of *laissez faire* and of local administrative disunity, and of the rule of ignorance, instead of science by officers of superior qualifications. Added to this default has been continued inevitably high charges for inferior supplies of water, under the administration of the local disunity. Mr. Goschen points to the laws affecting the Mercantile Marine as being a subject of undue interference with the principle of *laissez faire*. Under actual legislation the owners are relieved of responsibility by the marine insurance; but neither seamen nor passengers are comprised in their policies, and there the sickness and death rates are three times greater in the Mercantile than in the Royal Navy. But by centralisation, by a change of the terms of contracts for pauper and other emigrants, by changing it from payments per head on the number embarked to payments only per head on the number landed alive—we did adjust the interest of the shippers to the end in view, with the result of the reduction of the death-rate much below the sickness and death-rate of people of the same class on shore; below even those of the Royal Navy. Thus the contract secured for every live passenger who died at least one sincere mourner. Mr. Goschen adverts to the factories regulations, measures as questionable departures from the principle of *laissez faire*, and undue interferences between the employer and the employed. As one of the commissioners of inquiry into the employment of young persons in factories, I may state that we found great *economical* waste of the force and working stock of the country. The children were extensively, permanently ruined bodily by overwork, in working the same stages as the adults, and mentally injured by exclusion from education. In economy it was, as I have put it, as if, to raise one working horse, two colts had to be reared, and as if

Calamities of losses of life and property due to *laissez faire*.

the horse raised only lasted two-thirds or one-half the proper time. And all this waste of money fell, by *laissez faire*, not upon the consumer, but chiefly on the ratepayers and others who derived no benefit from the production. By reducing the hours of labour and ensuring a daily schooling on the half-time principle, we reduced all this evil, and provided a system of mixed mental and physical training, which Mr. Goschen might have known if he had attended to the results of the district half-time schools when they were under his jurisdiction:—and the result was that it gave to every two the efficiency of three for productive service, and that the teachers under the system are of opinion that it must eventually become national and universal as a system of elementary education. It may be interpreted that our opponents were for the maintenance of such local self-government as that which enabled the few to throw upon the many expenses of the relief of the premature disablements and destitution occasioned by the overwork of young children; and, as respects smoke consumption, *laissez faire* was for such local self-government as enabled the few to subject the surrounding many to the tax of a double washing bill, and to the double wear and tear of their clothes, and injury to their health. On this point I may show, at least as respects the manufacturers in the metropolis, that the measures of prevention enforced were generally proved to be for the benefit of the manufacturers in the saving to them in fuel; and, on the more general question the central action, it has been attended by a large subsequent increase of wages, with a large reduction of the cost of production, greater than obtained under the long hours of *laissez faire* on the Continent, which are now only saved by protective duties from being overcome by the competition of the state-regulated manufactures of Great Britain, from which, and from factory inspection, our manufacturers have no longer any desire to go back. In my view the factories and workshops inspection should have been, and will now be, required to be sanitary inspection. On the view of the working of the example of the inspection of factories, such as it was—the inspection of mines was called for and granted, and afterwards prison inspections. From what has been said, it would follow that exertion should be made to supersede the old and deleterious principle of *laissez faire* in local administration, and by general administration, under unity, with its proved practical advantages in principle, gives more complete security and freedom for life and limb at home and abroad than has yet been attained, and give relief from the miserable slavery of preventible disease, which sacrifices between

one and two hundred thousand lives, and manifold cases of preventible sickness in the United Kingdom, and immense waste of money, against true natural liberty of health and strength to the many. '*Laissez faire*' may be interpreted to mean, 'Give us honour, give us position for enjoyment; but do not ask for any labour of thought in return for them, to give relief from evils which do not afflict ourselves.' When the truth becomes better known, of the benefits derivable from sanitary and administrative science, the country will insist upon its due recognition and application by more of well directed centralisation for their better relief and protection.

Insanitary evils sustained by *laissez faire*.

The term *laissez faire* was first applied in political economy to the relief from obstructions to interchange, or to the freedom of transit. But as now applied, with the result of letting mischief work, and evils go on which do not affect ourselves, it is, I consider, a doctrine of a *revolutionary tendency*, and that *politically* it is due to conciliate the respect of the poor for authority by its sedulous care for the reduction of the evils which peculiarly affect the poor,—which *economically* I have found—to be a loss of force and a waste of money. Moreover, and above all, *Res est sacra miser*.

An exception is admitted in favour of the movement in respect to all labourers' dwellings, but its exception implies that all else is left to *laissez faire*.

Effect of Unity on Legislation.

I would now submit for consideration the substantive effect of unity on legislation in the widest experiences, and on the choice of the best for a single-chambered Legislature.

So far it would be found that the gross pecuniary gains derivable from national unity of administration would be, in respect to the police force, of double the amount of the local contributions to the provincial forces which it would relieve. In poor law administration in England and Wales the gain from a better administration—a better *local* administration under unity—would be upwards of three millions per annum, and an equivalent gain for Scotland. The saving in the cost of transit by a better road administration under unity would be upwards of eight millions. The road administration of Scotland is, I believe, in extensive districts in advance of the local government

Gain derivable from unity in England and Wales.

in England and Wales, and I am unprepared to state, even approximately, the extent of gain derivable in Scotland under that head from unity. Before advancing to the gain derivable from local self-government under unity in cities and provinces, I beg to submit some answers to objections to the means of gaining them by correct centralisation, and the need of relief from the excessive obstruction and waste occasioned by the existing disunity in legislation.

Great administrative principles for general application may, as we found, be developed in a parish, but the long demonstrations they had presented excited no imitation in the adjacent parishes, and were lost in the absence of arrangements in collecting and diffusing the results of experiences of the county, or in the province. Provincial views are commonly bounded by provincial areas. Nothing has appeared to show that an administrative area of a province, *i.e.*, of one-seventh of the United Kingdom, as contended for by the Home Rulers of Ireland, would be an exception to the rule. Indeed, examples may be cited to the contrary. Instead of the demonstration given by Mr. Bence Jones of the practicability of a fourfold production, and a fourfold rise of wages being hailed for its extended application, he received general opposition and was boycotted for his pains. The late agitation in Ireland for the adoption of the English practice of out-door relief for Ireland would, I consider, tend to convert the rural districts there into great pauper warrens. Indeed, in respect to the three-chambered Legislature itself, with its strong infusions of narrow provincialism and sinister interests, its general tendency is, as may be shown, to cripple any measures of wide and general legislative principle presented to it. I have complete confidence that the departures from principle (which independent efforts have been made to retrieve, especially in poor law administration) could not have occurred under the undivided attention of a single-chambered Legislature less susceptible to the action of small adverse influences. There would under it be far less ground for the complaint only too justly made by those engaged in legislative work that no measure partaking of economic or administrative principle or science goes into the three-chambered Legislature that does not come out worse than it went in.

No measure partaking of science ever goes into Parliament under existing conditions that does not, as a rule, come out worse than it went in.

Let me illustrate the fact that a three-chambered Legisla-

Narrow administrative areas; the source of narrow expenses and views.

Three-chambered Legislation detrimental to science.

Prejudicial

ture must be, so to speak, a narrow-minded Legislature, producing only narrow-minded local legislation.

effects of legislative disunity

I beg to renew for consideration some of the costs of disunity, and of the extent to which it will be found on examination that a three-chambered Legislature must be narrow-minded and wasteful. The fact of the superior branches of local administration being obtained for Ireland—the superior principles of the relief to the destitute, the superior elements of the police organisation, and the superior road administration, may be cited as evidence of the negligence of English members, at an expense of some thirteen millions of money to the English taxpayer for continued disunity, and the subjection of the taxpayer, subjected to nearly a double tax for an inferior system of relief to the destitute. Besides these, there is the common tax of an excess of upwards of one million per annum from the disunity of the police force—that is to say, the practicable relief of a reduction by one-third of the three millions of expenditure on military force now deemed requisite for the maintenance of the security now required under the continued disunity in Ireland. To the costs to Ireland must be added the costs of continued provincial feelings under disunity, and their frightful aggravation—I say provincial feelings, because I believe they will be found to be very much confined to what is really a province, of a seventh part of the United Kingdom, and not to that wholly, of which I would state some illustrative facts.

The late Mr. Tidd Pratt, who was the registrar and judge of cases of dispute arising in friendly societies, told me that when he first went and opened his court in Dublin, he confessed his surprise at the few cases, not above a dozen cases, set down for examination, for hearing, and decision. There was a number of people below the bar listening to him attentively. At last one of them spoke: ‘Please, your honour, are you an Englishman?’ Mr. Pratt did not know that this was not an hostile interrogatory, and he boldly declared his nationality, when all those at the bar disappeared from the court. He was perplexed at this, which was afterwards explained to him by the fact of the entry of more than a hundred cases for decision as soon as it was authenticated that he really was an Englishman. Our English assistant commissioners who were sent over for the first introduction of the new law, were particularly well received, and were very civilly treated by the mendicants, and told (though the times were troublesome) that they might go in safety everywhere, provided that they did not allow themselves to be mistaken for “Irish jontilmen.”

It may be noted that during the Irish famine, and since then, Irish cottiers, who have emigrated, and who have sent home money for the relief of their families, have very frequently preferred to entrust it to the Protestant clergy of their district, whom they had been taught to hate.

On the first introduction of the new Poor Law in England, which was shortly after the living fires that had spread through several of the southern counties, we found conditions of the peasant propriety very similar in feature to those prevalent in Ireland, of ignorant and wild revenge under suffering. Whilst prosecuting a really beneficent service, that would soon reach Ireland, I was myself distinctly pointed out for assassination by an Irish agitator as pursuing a course of oppression. But with the advance of wages under the new law, under which two agricultural labourers now receive as much as three did then, and with the general improvement of their condition, and perhaps to some extent with the advance of education, the feelings of wild hostility have been largely abated, if not entirely extinguished, in those districts of England.

I may note, as one great measure of unity, that the lowest as well as the highest offices in the service of the Empire are now opened to Irishmen as well as to Scotchmen, by the system of competitive examinations, which it would be important to extend to the local administrative service, though extended disunity would close it to the Irish.

Whatsoever odium may attach to other methods of centralisation, as to those solely for the collection of general taxes, and the application of a central rule, from which the people derive no local benefit that they perceive, which I am not called upon to examine, I may claim for the plan and the principles recited, which I prepared, especially the principle of action, by organised instruction for voluntary adoption, which when in office I carried out as far as I could by official circulars of information to the local offices and by reasoned answers to applications for information. It worked most satisfactorily; and when there was a relaxation of such action at the centre there was a relaxation of action on principle at the localities, and old evils reappeared and rates were augmented. Cases of novelty and difficulty frequently occur within the province of provincial attorneys, to meet which they have recourse to central agencies in the metropolis for information and aid. Functions in analogy to this practice of centralisation were provided for the Central Board in the Metropolis which, so far,

instead of being a dogmatic master, is a common servant. By the exercise of its consultative functions, and larger experience, it might be shown that it would have saved immense sums to municipalities in guarding them by its greater knowledge against erroneous and wasteful works.

Democratic government is always denounced by a certain class of politicians as essentially bad. I might show that, under the present conditions of disunity, with multiplied, unnecessary appointments of ill-qualified officers, with ill-assorted functions, the local bureaucracy, in the dislogistic sense, is often at its worst, and the best remedial course would be found that of unity, when combined with the functions I have recited, and when, under a central authority, charged with effective responsibilities for their application, and not allowed to relapse, as some have been, under the old lethal official maxim for sanitation, 'Never to act until you are obliged, and then to do as little as you can,' *i.e.*, for the prevention of human misery and waste.

Unpaid local service intended to be supervisory, not so executive.

In common local administration, which requires no very special science, but only business qualities—exact executive service, and trustworthiness, it was made clear in various inquiries that the common local administrative capacity was such as to prove that if the central Legislature passed any measure requiring uniformity of administration for the protection of the population, it must appoint a central agency to ensure its due execution. As an example, my colleagues of the Commission of Inquiry on the means of regulating the labour of young children in factories, agreed with me that any measure, presumably self-acting, would be futile; and that the appointment of Governmental inspectors was absolutely necessary to success. And the like course was adopted with the unavoidable appointment of a central control for the inspection of mines and other manufactures. In such cases, however, the paid professional local officers find it peculiarly irksome, instead of having to work up to superior knowledge, to have to work down to ignorance in the local administration. Under such circumstances they welcome the visits of the official inspectors, and the support given to them in behalf of the people by the central authority. I have hereinafter set forth the popular privileges conferred and the rights ensured in the constitution of the Board of Guardians as a general unit of local administrative action, with the advantage of a central service, as compared with the municipalities without any. What some

Central inspections popularly required to ensure correct local administration.

Popularity of
distant and
impartial
central
service.

politicians object to as a tendency to bureaucratic government, will be found to be really a tendency to the most responsible, efficient, important, and most economical, as well as the most popular government as displayed by demands for the increase of inspectorates. The true popular feeling manifested is in favour of *distant*, competent, and impartial authority.

Order
conducive to
an improved
quality of
local unpaid
service.

It is now held forth as a primary object to sustain the so-called self-government (*i.e.*, the government which, as a rule, is the most expensive and the least effective)—that it should be rendered interesting and attractive, to persons in the locality to take part in it. As far as relates to the administration of the poor laws, much of this has been done (by centralisation) by the introduction of method and order where there was chaos, and much more may be done by advancing to the condition of the Irish system, by which the proportion of painful and repulsive cases to be dealt with are greatly reduced. For education in public service, the most systematised administration will indisputably be the best. But as to the general object there are large social conditions to be considered; that whilst the improvement of local administration renders the service required more serious and arduous, the demands upon the time of persons of all conditions becomes more serious and absorbing, and it is becoming more difficult to find competent persons to undertake continued serious unpaid service. Added to these conditions are the increasing attractions of scientific pursuits and of commercial directorates to persons of leisure, and so it is found that, as a rule, those who have time to spare are those whose attention and service are of little value. The increasing difficulty of getting persons to serve on common juries, and the interruptions occasioned by it, threatens that institution in England. Hence, instead of the demands for local unpaid service being extended, it will be found that they ought to be restricted and carefully economised and aided.

I am fully aware that for the improvement of the local government especially, that for the protection of the health of the poorer population, the central administration will itself require important amendments.

In the absence of knowledge, of correct administration, and of its productiveness, the common course of agitation in this country has been (in disregard of the eight millions of excess in local rate administration, and of three millions of excess in

the administration of the poor rates) for the shifting of the burthen of the rates from one description of property to another, or from the local to the general taxation of the country. The course proposed of examination and comparison of different methods of administration would show that much larger relief is obtainable by the reduction of burthens through an improved and productive administration of them, than by any process of shifting them. The rivalry of different methods by a comparative examination would be fraught with interest and large instruction to the rated taxpayers, to the general public and to the Legislature. The economies obtainable would manifestly be so large as to render it an improvidence, and an economy of the oil serving to prevent friction, noise, and agitation—not to make it the interest of all office holders under existing practices to assist in the furtherance of the changes required, by giving them either promotion, when they can be retained, or liberal retiring allowances in case of their displacement under the new arrangements.

There is one great question to be noticed, though too large to be fully expounded here, *i.e.*, the great economy to be obtained, after a comparison of results, by doing the same thing in the same way, choosing the best;—namely, the half time principle of mixed mental, and industrial training, which as a Commissioner of Enquiry, with the support of my colleagues I got introduced into the Factories Regulation Acts. The Bill, which I was charged to prepare, was grievously crippled in its passage through Parliament by the omission of the securities for the fitness of the schools and of the teaching, and the subsisting provisions are rudimentary: but its survival has exceeded my expectations. Its application has been widely extended. Its principles have been recently adopted for primary education in France. All the industrial schools here and the reformatory schools, comprising some thirty thousand children, are based on the half time principle, of which the results are reported to be emptying the prisons of juvenile delinquents by imparting bodily aptitude for productive industry. The economical results reported are that elementary mental instruction, as well as physical training, can be successfully imparted in about half the time and at half of the cost of the mental training at common schools, and with a considerable reduction of infantile mortality.

But there is an extending perception of the evils arising from the excessive sedentary occupations of children in the long time common schools, and of the necessity of the adoption of

Interest and instruction derived from the competition of different administrative methods.

Reduction of local burthens by mixed physical and mental training on the half-time principle.

The mixed physical and mental training on the half-time principle.

Extension of the half-time principle of education introduced in factories, regulations for the protection of children.

general provisions for imparting some such systematised physical training, commensurate with those for mental training, as gave superior power to Greece; or as that systematised physical training which, it is reported, has advanced and is advancing eminently the productive power of the population of Sweden. In Scotland, where the Educational Congress recently unanimously passed resolutions to represent the evils of the over mental pressure inflicted on children by the present system, it would be a great relief. In Ireland it would do what is already done in the district half-time schools—namely, impart the elements of discipline, self restraint, patience, prompt and exact obedience to command, and habitual respect for legitimate authority. The whole system of combined physical and mental training it will be found augments the national force and efficiency by imparting to two the efficiency of three for productive industry, and that at a reduced expense of time and money.

Results of
mixed
physical and
industrial and
mental training.

Contraventions of the Correct Principles of Central and Local Administration for the People.

Measures of long laborious preparation by myself have been subjected to serious public injury by disparaging statements and invidious expressions towards their author—to the effect that those measures had been found to be unworkable until they had been largely modified by men of superior official experience and judgment. It will be instructive as to administrative measures for the future to show what befel the measures as well as myself from action on such mis-statements.

I beg to cite testimony as to the estimation of leading statesmen of the chief measure on which I had bestowed the greatest labour, the Poor Law Amendment Act. In speaking on the London Municipality Bill recently, the present Premier is reported to have said:—"I do not deny that the majority of the local authorities may be unfavourable to it. What would have become of the Poor Law Amendment Act, which is perhaps the greatest reform of this century, if it had been entrusted to the local authorities of that day?" In answer to attacks made on me in statements against the renewal of the Public Health Act, and in face of a report displaying evidence of successful and important preparations, Lord John Russell referred to several of my measures, and especially to my report on the Amendment of the Poor Laws, and stated that if they looked at that report they would find 'there the germ of that amendment which in his (Lord John Russell's) conviction had saved the country from great social evils, if not absolutely from social revolution.' The Lord Chancellor Brougham spoke of it in the following terms. He confessed he had arisen from the perusal of my papers 'admirable in all respects from the excellence of composition, strength of reasoning, soundness of judgment, and all that indicates the possession of every species of talent. I say I have arisen from their perusal with a degree of admiration that I find it difficult to suppress or describe.' On a charge made against the Duke of Wellington that when Premier he had done nothing for the reform of the poor laws, his answer was that he had seen

Official estimation of the poor law measure.

none but this of mine which he could approve, and he did approve it and support it cordially.

From such expressions of estimation, it might be imagined that its executive progress, on which its success must so largely depend, would have been followed with high interest and support. How it was regarded, will to some extent be displayed in the following statements:—

Neglect of the executive unavoidable individuality of authorship.

Mr. Barnes, however, the then editor of the *Times*, as stated in memoirs, opposed the measure, and condemned it as being the product of only one brain. This impression was inevitable, as my report with the full exposition of my measure, distinct in plan and principle from every other commissioner, either in or out of the commission, was published with others. It was fully adopted by my colleagues of the commission, who charged me with the preparation of the more full exposition of their general report, which I accomplished with some assistance in minor details from Mr. Senior.

Exposure to detrimental jealousy.

After the Act had passed, Lord Althorp, the Prime Minister who had passed it, proposed to me the office of Secretary to the Board, and stated to me that the Government did so because it was the general experience of Board management, that the chief work was done by the Secretary, and that in that position I should have more power in working out the measure than if I were in the position of a commissioner. I accepted the position with misgivings, but I was informed that the commissioners were the best qualified that could be found for practical experience in official service. This they certainly were, but I soon found that they had not mastered the main principles of the administration of the law with which they were charged, and that they were actuated by a strong jealousy, almost a blind jealousy, were bent on acting on their first impressions and their own independent opinions. I would solicit attention to some examples of resultant deviations from correct administrative principles, the continuing evils of which I consider will have to be repaired.

First fundamental default in administrative organisation.

The final proposition in my report was in these words: ‘And lastly, that it is essential to the working of every one of these improvements that the administration of the poor laws should be entrusted, as to their general superintendence, to one central authority, with extensive powers; and as to their details, to *paid officers*, acting under the consciousness of constant superintendence and strict responsibility.’ I was emphatic on the responsibility for executive action as to the details being charged on the paid officers, because where there is no pay

there is no real or effective responsibility when serious work is left to unpaid officers; because, moreover, with the unpaid there is no security for qualifications of which a high degree of speciality is needed for a very difficult service. Our paid officers give constant and daily service, during which they acquire experience and knowledge, which they cannot impart to the unpaid officers, who can only give a fragmentary attendance of perhaps half a day in the week. The functions assigned to the unpaid guardians were not executive, but solely supervisory; they were analogous to those of the visiting justices to the prisons. I failed, however, in getting the administrative principle, as set forth, acted upon, or in preventing the rules and orders being so couched; I failed also to take from the unpaid officers the responsibility of the executive details, these being left to be disposed of by the unpaid guardians at their weekly meetings—often in crowds of cases in large towns—perfunctorily and most objectionably. It would require a long time, and indeed would require a superior commission of inquiry all over the country to develop the evils, the waste, and the obstruction to further improvement, sanitary, educational, and penal, which have had their root in that dereliction of fundamental administrative principle. Amongst other evils there has been that of generally putting the paid officers under the necessity of having to work down to ignorance instead of up to science administrative principle. The dereliction brought back to a great extent the evils of the allowance system. It has stood in the way of reductions, heavy death rates, and of vagrancy, and a large amount of crime. Here and there important examples have been presented of improved local administration in accordance with principle, and with a great reduction of the local burthens. In every such instance that has come to my knowledge it has arisen from the guardians leaving the executive details entirely to an able paid officer, and confining themselves to the exercise of supervisory superintendence as was originally intended. Little progress will be made in the improvement of local administration, and the improvement of local burthens, until this dereliction of administrative principle is repaired, and the paid officers placed in their proper position for effective service.

Another grievous destruction of administrative principle was this. I had examined the administration of special classes of the indigent in separate houses, maintained by voluntary charity in the metropolis, and found that the administration in them was greatly in advance of the administration in the parish

Second fundamental default in administrative organisation, the union house.

poor houses. I, therefore, proposed the provision of separate houses for each class, the children in one, the sick in another; the aged and infirm in another, and vagrants or able-bodied in another, an arrangement that would admit of an advanced order of special service for each. Old premises in the metropolis could on this plan be made available, each for a separate class, with great economy. This plan, which certainly would have required increased administrative skill in the provision of superior special treatment, was set aside for the general plan of the union house in which all the separate classes were confined in the one building under one management.

This plan has been found to work comparatively badly, and much more expensively in result. In respect to the orphan and destitute children, evil results were experienced in mixing them up in the same house with old and depraved paupers, and efforts were made to get provision made for them. Where this has been done now for some eleven thousand (out of thirty thousand children) classed in the district schools, a superior administrative success may be claimed for it, and an extraordinary sanitary success in the exclusion of the children's diseases, and the reduction of a death rate of children of the lowest type, to less than one-third of the death rates to which the children of the general population are subjected. It is, perhaps, the only example of what may be called one all-round system of mixed physical and mental training that has yet been utilised; with an outcome of more than ninety per cent. of the children, mostly the former hereditary mendicants and delinquents, got to the good. All the industrial and reformatory schools are based on the half-time principle, and that principle has been adopted in France and is spreading in the United States, and it is intended to, and must, eventually, be taken as the basis of general national education.

It is illustrative of the ignorance, or disregard, of the administrative principle prevalent amongst irresponsible law makers, that these large deviations in error were referred to as being due to a course of improvement upon my measure, made in the exercise of superior practical knowledge and discretion, and my remonstrances were regarded as of ill-conditioned jealousy. The Central Conference of the Guardians, and also the Chamber of Agriculture, have, on their own independent motion, as I have hereinbefore stated, vindicated the original measure by petitions to both Houses for a restoration of the principles of administration as laid down in 1833. Taking as normal instances those to which I have referred, of

the executive action by the paid officers with the tacit exercise of only supervisory authority by the guardians as originally prepared, I believe that there has been effected a reduction of the burden of the poors' rates at the rate of some three millions, with an improvement in the administration, and an important advance in the reduction of the burdens of the expenses of preventible sickness and premature mortality borne by voluntary charity. The continued serious contraventions which I was unable to withstand, of principles which were not understood, might have led to my resignation, but that I was unwilling to abandon the great field for observation and the collection of experiences which made up my report of 1842 on 'The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain,' which is credited as the foundation of sanitary science. I felt constrained for the sake of that work to go on, although by the obstructions of half-knowledge, the rate of progress was reduced by some two steps from three steps forward. Nevertheless, had these vexations and obstructions been foretold from the outset (as my loss of fortune from leaving my profession was foretold by professional friends), I must have gone on, for the sake of that one step, though incompletely gained, yet serving as a *norma*, of the complete gain to be obtained by other men in after time, and I do not regret. I might have appealed against the contraventions of principle, but the appeal would have involved the influx of evidence for which there was little time, of allegations of difficulties which were to a great extent true, and of impracticabilities which were mostly untrue. The appeals would have to be decided on general principles, 'an acquaintance with those principles and a confidence in their truth, and a patience of the gradual process by which, 'as we have stated in our report,' obstacles are steadily but slowly surmounted which are amongst the last acquisitions of political science and experience.

Appeal made against a further dereliction of principle.

There was, however, one step taken by the commissioners in contravention of the principles of the law, by a general order embodying a modified extension of the practice of the allowance system which I believed would be understood, and I appealed against it, and my appeal was affirmed, and the order was disallowed. But the disallowance was unattended by a change in the Board, or by any remedy being applied to the manifest deficiency, for which remedy might have been effected by application of more full qualifications obtainable within the service itself. Had this been done a final disaster might have been averted. Some errors in administration afterwards led to an

Appeal affirmed, but without removal of the conditions of rural administration.

examination before a select committee of the House of Commons, which was constrained to pronounce that the action of the Commissioners had been at variance with the laws they were bound to administer, that is to say in reality through imperfect knowledge of principle. The course taken was to break up the permanent Board, and to substitute a Board of Ministers of State, comprising the Premier, the Lord Chancellor, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, all of whom, if they had the competent knowledge of principle, never could or did attend to see to its application—with a changing party-political chief as president, in Parliament—with a view of ‘making the administration responsible to Parliament,’ but with the effect of making it available to the sinister interests that were present and active in Parliament. It was in effect the substitution of a distracted, and unqualified attention, for the constant and undivided attention with better knowledge, that might then have been obtained within the department itself. As an instance of such distraction, I may state that during the service of the most zealous president we ever had at the General Board of Health, the late Lord Carlisle, I had to receive in his place some hundred and forty deputations from cities and towns in consequence of his absences on sudden summonses to attend cabinet meetings, and that with the best, but unadvised, intentions he was led, under Parliamentary influences, to sanction a measure of the most serious mischief to the progress of sanitation. The heavy pre-occupation of Cabinet Ministers with other subjects in Parliament has generally prevented their acquisition of the knowledge of the specialities and the principles of the new administrative service, or of making due provision for them.

I might illustrate the change thus: I am credited with the most complete knowledge of the subject to which I have given years of close attention. But if I were in Parliament, and had the honour to be a Cabinet Minister, required to give my nights and days of attention to the varied subjects and party conflicts, that demand the attention in that position, my power of attention to the subject matters of the special department would be broken to pieces, and I must rely for my guidance on the overburdened secretary, who again must rely on clerks with whom the executive work really now is. An old clerk said to me ‘When you were here with the permanent Board we were under masters, but now we are masters, and very ill-used masters too, under great difficulties of working satisfactorily.’

One consequence of this has been the confounding the service

Appeal made
to Parliament
and affirmed.
Board broken
up: but
erroneous re-
constitution.

Evils of a
divided and
distracted
attention.

of the application of a new science with the practice of old departments, with trained staffs and settled routine, with the allotment of posts solely under political party arrangements, and the appointment of presidents, without effective responsibility—of men who were entirely unacquainted with the important specialities and principles of the new service, and in some instances, notoriously prepossessed against them. One of these, on his first entrance into office, declared defiantly, ‘My rule is never to act until I am obliged, and then to do as little as I can’; that is to say, to let all the mass of great evil, pain, and misery against which the service was provided, work on until by some outburst he was obliged to act, and then to do as little as he could for its relief; and his sentiment was verified by serious mischief.

I might adduce examples of great evils done under conditions of irresponsible and incompetent attention in sanitation as well as in Poor-law administration.

Another evil result of the conditions of disjointed and distracted attention has been that the Department instead of leading professional opinion and local opinion with the superior information and experience which had been acquired and tested—the department has been frequently left to follow a long way after. The regular issue of ‘the official circular of information for local boards,’ which comprise expositions of the grounds for the issue of new orders and instructional papers on sanitary science (which were frequently translated for promulgation by foreign sanitary authorities), and which served to realise the informative function of the central board, ‘As an agency for collecting for its own guidance, and communicating to each local authority for its guidance, the principles deduced from the experience of all other places from which information may be obtained,’ has almost ceased. ‘The regular official circular,’ of information to the guardians has been discontinued. The practice instituted of giving to the local boards and to private parties reasoned answers to all legal questions, a practice of importance to the influence and correct action of the board itself, has been discontinued. The important instructional reports of the inspectors on local administration have been weakened—leading to conferences of guardians, and the reassertion—on secondary information, of administrative principles settled and expounded in our reports of 1833 and 1834. As a consequence, the annual general reports of the department, from being leading expositions of advanced principles, have fallen to be almost mere catalogues, compiled by clerks and signed by the changing

Lectures of collective information for the guidance of local administration.

Lowered character of the annual reports.

parliamentary chiefs, who really—it may be said to their credit—cannot have read such miserable productions. The consequences of all this have been that local abuses have re-appeared, and that the rates which, under the undivided attention of the permanent board were, with all short comings, brought down to nearly one half, or little more than four millions, have been nearly redoubled. I have had the testimony of permanent local officers, that the present abusive expenditure cannot be much less than I have deduced, from the scattered normal instances to which I have referred, than one-third, besides the hindrance to practical collateral measures of administrative improvement. It has been under the pressure of the increased burdens, that the representatives of the guardians of England and Wales, and also the Chambers of Agriculture, sent petitions to Parliament praying for a return to the principles expounded in our Poor Law Report for 1833. But proper effective action has yet to take place on those appeals. It is to be observed, however, of these important petitions for a return to the principles of local organization laid down in 1833, that they are the results of important independent local experiences and observations, especially in one principle then propounded and sustained by evidence, of the classification and treatment of the chief subjects of relief in separate houses:—The orphans and destitute children in one house; the sick in another; the old and infirm in a third; the able-bodied and the vagrants in a fourth. On this principle a large proportion of the existing buildings, especially in urban districts, might have been utilised with great economy and better treatment of the objects of the relief. By the imperfect experience of the new Board this principle of organisation and administration was set aside, and the plan was adopted, very much with the support of the new assistant commissioners of the ‘Union House,’ which should comprise the above defined chief classes in separate wards of the same building, all under one master, frequently a sergeant or non-commissioned officer. This necessitated, almost, rude and inferior treatment of the separate classes. The evil effects of bringing up small groups of children in the same building with old and vicious paupers was early manifest. After I had left that branch of service exertions were successfully made chiefly by one able assistant commissioner, Mr. E. Carlton Tufnell, for a measure to get separate establishments for the taking the groups of orphan and destitute children from amidst the detrimental influence of the old paupers in the union houses, and forming ‘district schools,’ districts of unions.

Restoration of
the principle
of special
treatment in
separate
buildings
called for.

The reduction of the twenty outlets of expenditure for supplies from twenty parishes to one union was a gain, even if the one union were a job. But the necessity of a further advance in the consolidation of the contracts for supplies from twenty unions or more to a quarter of a county, or for the public establishments of a whole county, would involve not alone the gain in the wholesale prices, and the quality of the supplies, as I have hereinbefore noted, but the purification of the boards from the corrupt trading influences brought into them chiefly for the sake of the contracts, and from the interests in large expenditure, and from ignorant vulgarity. But I gained no support to measures for these objects; they still remain as the largest factors of amendment in the removal of some latent and deep-seated administrative evils, and for the advancement of local self-government.

In 1872 a conference on the subject of the administration of the Poor Laws took place at the Association for the Promotion of Social Science, when resolutions were adopted—with the aid of one member of very considerable experience as a permanent officer of a department—which appear to me to state the correct administrative principles applicable to the subject so well that I have repeated them for consideration as an appendix.

Continued malversation by default of administrative also.

But it is to be borne in mind that in addition to the burden of injurious local administration of the taxes, taxation to wit, of the money raised for the relief of the poor, there is the burden, three times greater, of preventible sickness and premature mortality. Other nations are now taking a leading action, in the promotion of early physical training, which is now shown to be largely preventive of insanity, of one great cause of blindness, and of bodily disability for military force and productive service.

Resolutions adopted for amended central administration.

Cases have occurred which, under strict administration, would sustain articles of impeachment for nonfeasance and misfeasance, if not for malfeasance and personal injury; but these failures may be passed over, as having arisen unintentionally, and from defaults of original erroneous administrative arrangements and appointments without regard to the specialities of the service. In large private manufacturies and commercial establishments it is the practice to revise previous transactions and take stock, and to found upon such examination arrangements for future improved progress. Analogous proceedings have occasionally been taken for departmental improvement of the public business. The facts stated, which may be largely reinforced, and will admit of little qualification, are submitted as

Default of revision of the working of administrative machinery.

demonstrative of the high importance of such a proceeding for the great work of the prevention of excessive sickness and premature mortality, as well as of the provisions for the relief of the destitute.

In the reorganisation of the administration of relief to the destitute, I laid it down as a principle that departmental or sub-legislation, by rule and order, is better for the people than the superior legislation by Act of Parliament, because the departmental legislation will be generally framed with a clearer knowledge of the facts, and is more readily made and mended, and is altogether more responsible, besides being an important relief to Parliament. I proposed that the power of making executive rules and regulations should be charged upon the Poor Law Commissioners, and it was conferred upon them to a certain extent. I would have charged the department with the exclusive jurisdiction of all controverted cases arising in the course of the administration, such as disputes on settlement between union and union, and I would have excluded the jurisdiction of the superior courts of law, by which I should have saved more than a hundred and fifty thousand pounds of costs per annum; and I should have done so, moreover, because, under the principle of the central collectivity, which I have explained, the departmental rules and divisions would be founded upon the widest experience, whilst judges cannot have complete information—which is comprised in volumes—before them; and it is admitted that the ‘judge-made law’ on charity cases is, as a rule, bad law. But the departmental power of sub-legislation by general rule and order has been extensively frustrated by the local board, by the issue of what are called ‘model bye-laws,’ which the local authority may adopt or not, as they please. The notion of these optional bye-laws is the conciliation of what is called ‘local self-government.’ But in sanitation the effect is to give the owners of the worst tenements—who get possession of the local boards of sanitary authority, in which they are generally in the majority—the power of dispensing with obligatory rules for the protection of the health of the population; and also of depreciating the service by lowering the pay and the qualifications of the officers required for its performance. The operation of this permission of avoiding the general sanitary regulations is the subject of complaint by sanitary officers throughout the country, as being a permission to the self-government, or the misgovernment, of the few at the expense of the many, in frustrating the great economies of prevention, and in deteriorating the character of the repre-

sentation, and creating interests in the large expenditure which characterise a large proportion of the existing local administrations. The provision gives to ignorance the power of excluding the economy and efficiency of science for the protection of the people in local administration.

In some published conversations between Lord Derby and Sir Arthur Helps, the greatest public need was stated to be the promotion of the faculty of administrative organisation. Unfortunately that is a faculty which is officially the most repulsively treated and discouraged, as may be shown by other experiences besides my own. Administrative organisation requires the labour of judicial attention and thought not easily to be got amidst distracted attentions, and that labour is generally pain, and he who gives it is officially unfavourably regarded. I know that the efforts of the late Sir Rowland Hill, who lost money by taking office for the organisation of the postal system, cost him in the worry and opposition to which he was subjected, some ten years or more of insurable life and most valuable working for the public. He was obliged to retire, leaving much incompleted of the organisation which would have followed at his hands; amongst others, the utilisation of the thirteen thousand postal establishments, for collection and delivery of telegraph messages and parcels at cheaper rates to the public than could be done by private companies, and which I afterwards moved independently at the Society of Arts. Before offering my paper of suggestions for such measures to the Postmaster-General, I went and showed it to Sir Rowland as due to him. I received his entire approval; but he impressed me emphatically with the precaution, that I should not let it be known or suspected that I had seen him or made him cognizant of it, for if I did it would be supposed to have come from him, and would create a jealousy that would be fatal to its progress. After he left office, though the principles he had elaborated, including more than the gain of the revenue, were triumphantly successful, and more or less adopted by the administrations of all civilised States, he was never applied to, or consulted as to their extension, deference which it might be imagined a feeling of respect for what had been accomplished by his measure, or of security for the future, would have dictated.

My friend, the late Sir Henry Cole, brought to me a passage from Burke, which he said I ought to carry about with me pinned to my coat, for the example of its verification, in my own person. It was in the following words: 'That those who

carry a great public scheme of benefit must be proof against the most fatiguing delays, the most mortifying disappointments, the most shocking insults, and what is worse than all, the presumptuous judgments of the ignorant upon their designs.'

The functions of the new Poor Law administration were primarily repressive of the evils of the then existing abusive administration; the functions preventive of transgression are mainly sanitary functions for the direction of a 'Minister of Health,' under which institution the evils of such continued inattention as I have described could scarcely occur. With these may be combined the well-ordered functions of an educational department, under the undivided attention of a 'Minister of Education.'

APPENDIX.

I.

The Local Union as the Unit of Local Administration.

As questions on the alteration of local administrative authorities for the formation of county boards, and for other objects of local administration, are coming under consideration, I beg to submit some notes as to the plan and principles of the organisation of the union and of the board of guardians with a central service, as proposed by me and accepted by my colleagues, the Commissioners of the Poor Law Inquiry, and adopted by Parliament in the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. I submit them for comparison as to the leading points with the common municipalities, as the most eligible unit for urban as well as rural districts.

The sanitary Commissioners recommended that the town councils in urban districts should be the sanitary authorities. His proposal has not been founded on a due consideration of the public interests involved to warrant its general application.

In the first place, the areas of the municipal jurisdiction are in very few instances coincident with efficient and economical sanitary areas. Their outfalls for drainage and sewerage works are commonly through suburban or rural districts, and the subsoil drainage of adjacent rural districts is also frequently necessary for the sanitary improvement of the urban or municipal area, and rural land is also needful for the application of the sewerage. And for all these purposes, drainage areas for sanitary works, as set forth in the report of the Health of Towns Commissioners for 1845, are independent of municipal areas.

The municipal areas will commonly be found to require considerable extension for the purposes in question and for others. It is matter of experience that the occupiers of suburban districts violently resist being included in municipal boundaries—the general ground of resistance being the low character of the administration for efficiency, its real irresponsibility, its being a party political body to which the most respectable inhabitants of the borough frequently do not care to belong.

The municipal corporations are tainted with gross corruption, proved in various parliamentary inquiries. At present their administrative functions are chiefly of watching and lighting, and they have no primary sanitary functions. On the other hand, the boards of guardians have brought before them the relief of destitution, of

which a large, blameless, and preventable cause is excessive sickness and premature mortality, arising in great part from preventable disease.

The boards of guardians have under their direction, for the relief of the destitution caused by sickness, union medical officers, health officers, and inspectors of nuisances, through whom they have access to the causes of deaths. They have also the registrars of deaths, and the causes of deaths, and clerks, or the superintendent registrars. The functions which should be performed by these officers are essential to any proper sanitary organisation. It has been shown that during the last decade, ending in 1880, there has been a saving of upwards of a quarter of a million lives from causes chiefly affected by sanitation; and that the saving of the expenses of excessive funerals and excessive sickness would not be less than five millions of money. If the recent reductions of death-rates should continue, the saving of life in England and Wales would amount to three-quarters of a million.

Now, on the proposal to make the town councils the sanitary authorities in boroughs, the question arises whether such essential functions are to be given to them, with a proper staff of officers; and if so, as a consequence, is the locality to be burdened with duplicate fitting officers—those of the unions and those of the municipalities? What may the ratepayers be expected to say to that proposal?

It is to be observed that on town councils owners of the lowest class of tenements get elected more than on town guardians, on which there are too many. The town council of Manchester proposed in a Bill to forbid the use of the sewers for the drainage of houses with water-closets. The chief promoter of that measure, as a member of the town council, was the owner of cottage property (reputed to be the largest owner in the borough), who was violently opposed to a measure for which he would have been called upon to make, under the local law, a large immediate outlay for the proper drainage of his houses.

On the other hand, by the constitution of the boards of guardians, they comprise, as *ex officio* guardians, magistrates, owners of the higher descriptions of property, men of education, men of better means, and, on the whole, proved better disposition to the great object—the improvement of the habitations of the labouring classes—than the lower description of owners of house property, who predominate in town councils.

Under the constitution of the local board of guardians, the poorest pauper has a right of appeal to the central authority—a right which is exercised gratis. The permanent officers have a right of appeal, which is regarded by them as a most important privilege and protection. The same constitution confers the right of appeal to the poorest householder or occupier gratis. He may have a local public examination by competent inspectors from the

central board, and an administration of justice gratis. Minorities have the same inexpensive right of appeal against oppressive or illegal acts by majorities. These privileges are now in long and accustomed exercise, and are duly regarded privileges of a high order.

Is it intended by the adoption of the town councils as sanitary authorities, to deprive the poor, the ratepayers, and property owners, and also to deprive the local officers of their protection during good behaviour, and of their right of appeal?

The constitution of town councils have no readily available safeguards of the sort. They would have to be imposed, and would be resisted in their exercise, and, being party political bodies, they would be embarrassing the central authority.

The Poor Law unions are generally free from the taint of party politics. Under the board of guardians, the ratepayers have the security of settled common forms of accounts, which are comparative, and a regular audit of them by responsible auditors, under conditions of security which the ratepayers have not in respect to town councils. The boards of guardians have a wider and more popular electoral basis than town councils in the house to house collection of votes by voting papers, which brings up three or fourfold more votes to bear, without expense and with less falsification than the method of electing town councillors. The town council elections are excessively tainted with bribery, in the shape of payments for lost time in coming up to give the votes. The two methods of exercising the franchise—that by attendance at polling booths, and that by the house to house collection of voting papers—were brought under the examination of the committee of the House of Commons on the local government of the metropolis, which unanimously pronounced in favour of the method of electing guardians. It is objected to this mode of election that it does not comprise the ballot; but it may easily be made to comprise that method of election, by the circulation of balloting papers, to be enclosed and returned in envelopes, as is the practice with charitable associations. By this method the gross expense of parliamentary elections might be avoided. With this method is to be compared that of the poll adopted for the London elections, with the result of putting them in the hands of minorities of one-fifth of the total number of voters, at great expenses, which serve for the purchase of public position, by positively ill-educated men who will incur them, and operate to the exclusion of specialists, of the highest qualifications as educationists, who will not.

Whilst the areas of the jurisdiction of town councils are in a few instances coincident with necessary sanitary or drainage areas, and the areas of the Poor Law unions laid out for other purposes, and at a time when sanitary science was unknown, are little more so;—but the areas of the Poor Law unions may be extended and varied more easily than the areas of town council jurisdictions. Unions themselves may be easily combined by the central board for

any common administrative purpose, as they have been for district schools (i.e., districts of unions), combining physical and industrial with mental training, with the highest success of any local administrative measure, as it has given a far higher order of teaching or training power at a lower order of cost, or less than one-half that of the cost of teaching power as conducted by the Education Department of the Privy Council.

In some cases the areas which considerations of efficiency and economy will require to be brought under one sanitary authority would include two urban districts, or two municipal boroughs. It will be much more difficult to combine them for any such work than it would be to combine Poor Law unions or boards of guardians.

The districts for the registration of births and deaths are now coincident, not with municipal but with the union areas. The function of the registration of the causes of death is, as stated, of great importance as a means of indicating future progress. That function now exercised by the union officers, must either be set aside or put, under municipal jurisdiction, or be exercised by duplicate authorities of some sort if the union is not to be the sanitary authority. This involves the exercise of a function of the highest importance for local service, as well as of general or Imperial service; the function of the central authority of collecting for the information and guidance of each local authority, and of the ratepayers, the experience of the whole, to be obtained by order of returns, on common standards, for comparison; as also of reports by medical officers and by officers of health, so much insisted on as necessary for the advancement of sanitary science and administration. The functions of collecting information as to what does do, and what does not do, in works, for the protection of local administrators or rate expenders against waste from simple, uninformed ignorance,—may be proved to be of the greatest importance to them and to the ratepayers.

This is a function sometimes to be exercised through the inspectors, as well as by circulars and printed instructions and reports, to which unions and union officers have been accustomed, and by whom it is properly to be regarded as an individual and collective local privilege. But nothing of the kind exists in municipal corporations.

The Royal Sanitary Commissioners recognised the existing want of constant and official communication between central and local officers; the objection to the duplication of local officers, and the imperfect representative constitution of the town councils. But they did not appear to have had the other public securities for responsible government brought before them—viz., especially the right of appeal of the poorest to the central board at the cost of a letter, and, if needed, an inquiry and adjudication by a competent and impartial authority gratis; nor 'the right of appeal, gratis, to minorities and reversioners against the undue distribution of local charges'; nor the right of appeal of local officers, and continuance

in office during good behaviour; nor 'the right of the local authority to information and instruction for their guidance, founded on the collection of the widest experience'; nor 'the right of the ratepayers to securities as to the qualifications of the local officers, and to the money value of their services by examinations of the nature of competitive examinations provided for in the Poor Law Amendment Act; nor 'the right of the ratepayers and others for the dismissal of incompetent officers, and against the protection of incompetent and wasteful service, by reason of favouritism and jobbery on the part of irresponsible rate expenders."

By the central arrangements, and through the President of the Local Government Board, the administration of the guardians is made responsible to Parliament.

The auditors of the expenditure of the boards of guardians, are better appointed; are more responsible; their returns are more conducive to a national accountability to parliament; their functions are better systematised than are the auditors of the municipal councils.

If powers are taken, as they may be, to form a composite local authority in urban and rural districts, these rights of the ratepayers, and corresponding duties of the rate expenders, provided by centralisation, should be duly regarded, for preservation in the interests of the locality.

The representatives of the boards of guardians throughout the country, and also the chambers of agriculture throughout the country, have petitioned Parliament for a return to the principles of administration set forth in our report of 1833. The principles then set forth have in ordinary periods been carried out with the greatest integrity in Ireland, including full relief to the able-bodied, with half the expense to the ratepayers that is incurred in England. At a recent meeting of Poor Law guardians in the metropolis, instances were given of a reduction of the rates by nearly one-half, with an improvement in the administration, by an adherence to those principles, chiefly by making out-door relief the exception, instead of the rule. Nevertheless, it is proper to state that at the time the administration of the rates was centralised they amounted, with labour rates and other sources of relief to the able-bodied, and of wages, to upwards of ten shillings per head on the population. At the same rate (instead of eight millions, as at present, or five millions as they were once, and now ought to be), they would have been upwards of twelve. Wages would have been lower, production would have been less, and rents would have been lower. Even as it is, the total saving effected with the agency of paid officers in the place of the unpaid parish officers has not been less than eighty millions. The future progress will be in more competent and responsible central action, with better informed public support; with more extensive and efficient direction of the labours of competent paid officers, especially the reduction by sanitation of the destitution arising

from working disability, from excessive sickness and excessive mortality; and next, the better general physical, industrial, and mental training of the children of the wage classes, as carried out, on the half-time principles, in the district half-time schools.

East Sheen, January 6, 1883.

II.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY.

Draft Resolutions for Consideration as to the Constitution of the Central Board.

(1.) That, with all due respect for the ability and integrity of the present President of the Local Government Board, and of others, his predecessors—yet, having regard to the average duration of Governments and of the short period of service of changing party political chiefs, and to the long undivided attention absolutely necessary to become competently acquainted with the means for the protection of the public health, and with the laws for their application—having regard also to the time necessary to become duly conversant with the evils of the mal-administration of the funds for the relief of the destitute, and with the laws for their prevention—the present arrangements for the administration of the central executive authority cannot be regarded as entitled to public confidence.

(2.) That, under the present arrangements, functions, requiring very special aptitudes and undivided and persistent attention for their successful application, are confided to gentlemen who are usually undistinguished by such aptitudes, whose attention is obviously divided and distracted by the claims of other high, and often more congenial duties, and who leave office before they can acquire competent skill to give original, independent, and safe instructions for the successful promotion of the public service.

(3.) That, under arrangements such as the present, it is notorious that, as a rule, the central executive administration falls to subordinate officers—frequently obscure subordinate officers—and is often performed by them under great difficulty and discouragement, from the distracted, perfunctory, and insufficient attention they usually obtain from their chiefs for the sanction and support of their measures.

(4.) That the first considerable progress in the administration of the laws for the protection of the public health, and also in the amended administration of the funds for the relief of the destitute, was made under real boards, composed chiefly of members of proved special aptitudes, who gave an undivided attention to their duties; the chief progress in sanitary measures being in establishing examples of the reduction of old death-rates by one-third; and an administration of relief to the destitute at one half the previous rates of expenditure.

(5.) That the administration of the funds for the relief of the destitute and of the medical charities of Ireland, by a real board of specially-qualified commissioners, giving their undivided attention to their service;—and as respect Poor Law Relief, administering the law on the principles laid down by the commissioners of inquiry for amendment in England,—

stands out in contrast with the administration under changing political chiefs and fictitious boards ; the most prominent feature of the contrast being, in Ireland, a more full relief in individual cases of real destitution, at a total expense of about one-third of the present aggregate expenditure for the legal relief of the destitute in England and Wales

(6.) That since the change was made from real boards of members specially qualified, giving their undivided attention to the service, to nominal boards of high political officers, who it is notorious never do or can meet as legally intended, for deliberation, and who must sign documents in a formal and perfunctory manner, the administration of Poor Law relief, as declared at public meetings of persons concerned in local administration, has retrograded disastrously, and entailed a return of the worst evils intended to be remedied, with an oppressive expenditure of fifty millions of money since the dereliction of the established principles took place ; that the like change in the administration of sanitary law has entailed in the metropolis, and in the chief manufacturing towns, immensely oppressive local expenditure, with continued excessive death-rates from preventable disease, the undiminished death-rates from such disease being rated at upwards of one hundred thousand deaths annually.

(7.) That, as a rule, the administration, whether local or central, is as the time given to it by the administrators ; and that it is of the first importance for a moral influence on the local administration, that the central administration should be transparent, and strict to principle, and that the ostensible should be the real and the true.

(8.) That it is prayed, therefore, that Her Majesty be empowered to appoint, in lieu of the First Lord of the Treasury and of the Lord Privy Seal, and of her Principal Secretaries of State, as members of the board, three or more persons of special qualifications, of settled principles of administration, and of clearly expressed views for their application, to give their whole time to the execution of the Act, at such salaries as the Lords of the Treasury shall direct.

SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION,

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April 5th, 1872.

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